

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear."

The Monitor's view

Monday, August 8, 1977

Of Africa and U.S. arms

Growing restiveness in northeastern Africa continues to give cause for concern. This is because of the brush-fire conflicts that already have erupted and because of the potential for additional regional involvement by the big powers as arms suppliers.

Thus far, Egypt and Libya have indulged in a short but sharp shooting affray on their mutual boundary that may or may not have been halted by a cease-fire. Somalia and Ethiopia have clashed in the disputed eastern Ogaden area. Sudan and Ethiopia have exchanged fire and accusations on their borders, and Sudan's President Nimeiry also has accused Libya's President Qaddafi of attempting to overthrow him. Just to round out the picture of a thoroughly troubled area, Chad, which normally is almost lost in Saharan silence, claims Libya has been trying to foment a rebellion in its northern territory.

Such disputes, any one of which still could boil over into more serious fighting, show the impact of the political realignments now under way in that huge segment of Africa stretching from Somalia to the Indian Ocean to Tunisia on the Mediterranean. And it is an area where the great powers themselves are involved indirectly, as the United States and the Soviet Union sort out their shifting relationships with the African nations. Moscow, for example, must consider Western gains in Egypt, Sudan, and potentially Somalia while it juggles an awkward commitment to provide military support for both Ethiopia and Somalia, two bitter rivals.

For the United States, too, some very difficult decisions loom ahead in this region. It is a tempting ploy for Washington to counterbalance Soviet influence in northern Africa by backing those nations ready to turn away from reliance on Kremlin arms, such as Egypt and Sudan. Indeed, the U.S. must encourage those

willing to change, if it is to retain its role as a viable alternative to communist-bloc assistance for Africans. If that means supplying American arms, as formerly was done to Ethiopia, to Ethiopia's neighbors, that will have to be considered carefully in each instance, although one would hope the U.S. could usefully supply items other than military hardware to needy Africans.

Unless the Carter administration is prepared to supply weapons to almost any African seeker, it will have to start drawing the line in that part of the world. Already Egypt wants warplanes and other items totaling \$250 million, a package which still lacks congressional approval. And Sudan now is regarded as a potential customer for American munitions as well. If Somalia and Chad are to be added to the list of recipients — and both have received some initial encouragement — then Washington's commitments could get out of hand, and Congress would be justified in balking.

Thus it is time for President Carter to clarify or redefine his policy on foreign arms sales. At the London summit conference last May he declared that "competition in arms sales is inimical to peace" and affirmed that "we are trying to get other nations, both free and otherwise, to join us in the effort" to restrict such sales. But more recently, when questioned about arms for Sudan and Somalia, he quibbled on this and earlier proposals for cutbacks.

It is not surprising that President Carter should be influenced by the same factors of political expediency that dictated the policies of his predecessors. But, instead of compromising on his own promises, now is the time for Mr. Carter to press the Russians to agree to mutual restraint in Africa to forestall an arms race that could invite both local violence and big-power confrontation.

Foundation or trench?



The Christian Science Monitor

Whither Cyprus, after Makarios?

The passing of Cypriot President Archbishop Makarios leaves a Cyprus still sharply divided between its Greek and Turkish populating elements and the Mediterranean island republic partly occupied by Turkish troops. Thus, the formidable task of mending a long, bitter rift and negotiating an end to the Turkish occupation awaits the Makarios successor.

The Archbishop-President, in his dual role as religious and political leader of Greek Cypriots, was well known on the world stage for his efforts, first, to achieve independence for Cyprus from Britain and, later, to unite it with Greece — a goal he soon backed away from.

His long and, at times, stormy career included surviving a number of assassination attempts and a three-year period of British-imposed exile to the remote Seychelle Islands in the Indian Ocean. Throughout it all, the affection and devotion of the Greek Cypriot majority for Makarios was never in doubt. He symbolized their Cyprus, although unfortunately

this alienated him from the Turkish minority.

Since 1974, President Makarios had been faced with Turkish occupation of approximately 40 percent of the island. Efforts to terminate this occupation so far have not succeeded, despite United States help in working toward a solution. Last February, President Carter sent Clark Clifford on a mission to Cyprus, Greece, and Turkey to reactivate negotiations. But there has been little action recently, chiefly because of changes in the Turkish Government leading to reluctance to make concessions on the Cyprus question.

The change of leadership in Cyprus obviously will require a reassessment of the situation by the new President, but the basic objective of reunification of the island remains unchanged. Indeed, the shift of leadership should provide a fresh opportunity for all the factions involved, including those in Athens and Ankara, to work out the settlement that so long eluded the formidable Archbishop.

What the Chudnovskys remind us

Even without harassment, and even in the face of Soviet self-interest, what gain can there be for a bold world power in attempting to the tactics of an insecure coward? If the Helsinki declaration means anything, it must mean letting an invalid and his parents move if they want to. The other signatories to it surely ought to forget the Soviet Union know that the least to be expected is an end to such petty tyrannies, which are of course not petty to the victims of them.

But the plight of the Chudnovskys is a reminder of another kind as well. As Jews they have a special claim to attention from the free world with its incidental Jewish constituency. With Sakharov in their corner, they get at least a few paragraphs in the international press. But they recall all the others, the thousands murdered in Uganda, for example, not just denied exit visas. These do not have the same constituency. But their violated rights must also call to the conscience of the world.

Détente in the sciences

Politically, East-West détente may be cooling, but the United States and the Soviet Union still find enough common ground in the sciences to renew their agreements for cooperation for another five years.

This is encouraging, for it is in the sciences that the divisive issue of human rights has erupted most sharply.

Many of the prominent victims of Soviet domestic oppression are scientists, such as V. G. Levich, the biochemist fired from Moscow University in 1972 when he wanted to move to Israel and in whose honor a "60th birthday" international scientific conference was held in July at Oxford University. In spite of the revolution such oppression causes in the American scientific community and in spite of the resulting condemnation of Soviet practices, both countries still consider their scientific cooperation worthwhile.

Nature, the premier international scientific journal, has pointed up this ambivalence by printing a report of the renewed accord opposite an exposition of Professor Levich's continuing ordeal. The latter account features a page from a Soviet scientific journal from several years ago, in which Levich's name is removed from the list of authors of a paper.

Such politically motivated persecution is anathema to American scientists, and it is, for other reasons, anathema to the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union has a long history of persecution of scientists, and it is a long history of persecution of scientists. The Soviet Union has a long history of persecution of scientists, and it is a long history of persecution of scientists. The Soviet Union has a long history of persecution of scientists, and it is a long history of persecution of scientists.

A committee of the National Academy of Sciences took a hard look at scientific détente, considering especially the frequent criticism that the Soviet Union has been the chief beneficiary. The committee told presidential science adviser Frank Press that, on balance, "the positive benefits" for the United States make continued cooperation valuable.

Although President Carter's human rights stand is commendable, there is only so much one nation can do in holding up a moral standard for another. In renewing their cooperation in the sciences, both the United States and the Soviet Union have recognized that two powerful nations holding seemingly irreconcilable political views should nevertheless continue to seek ways to live peacefully together on the same small planet.

Bahamas vote

In the fragile world of new nations, where political and economic problems have a way of erupting into violence and instability, it is encouraging to find a new nation achieving new freedom with at least a degree of success.

Such is the case in the Bahamas where Prime Minister Lynden Pindling's Progressive Party has won a landslide victory in the recent parliamentary elections. In the wake of a hard-fought but peaceful campaign centered on the island's economic difficulties and alleged corruption in high places, voters gave the P.P.P. more seats in Parliament than the last time around.

Part of the surprising P.P.P. victory obviously results from the force of Prime Minister Pindling's own charisma and the rather lackluster performance of his opponents. But it also seems due to the Prime Minister's moderate, sensible approach to governing — in sharp contrast with some other leaders of new nations. For one thing, Mr. Pindling has not succumbed to demagoguery, nor to flamboyant promises and excesses. In trying to solve the Bahamas' many economic problems, with high unemployment and flagging tourism, we suspect the temptation to do so has loomed large. With his renewed and strengthened mandate, Mr. Pindling should be able to continue his wise course.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

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America's one-two space punch

By David F. Saltshury
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Edwards AFB, California

As the space shuttle Enterprise takes its first free flight August 12 visitors of the science-fiction tale "2001" will be shimmering in the hot desert air here like a mirage.

The stubby-winged rocket/glider has a lot riding on its performance — perhaps the entire future of the American space program. For it is the basket in which the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) has put most of its aerospace eggs. This year alone the shuttle program will account for one-third of the agency's budget, and a number of other programs have been cut or delayed as a result.

NASA leaders feel this emphasis is justified because they are convinced the DC-4-sized craft will be the key to a new era in space — at a time when the potential for practical application of space programs will be more generally acknowledged. As an assessment by the American Institute of Aeronautics and Astronautics (AIAA) puts it:

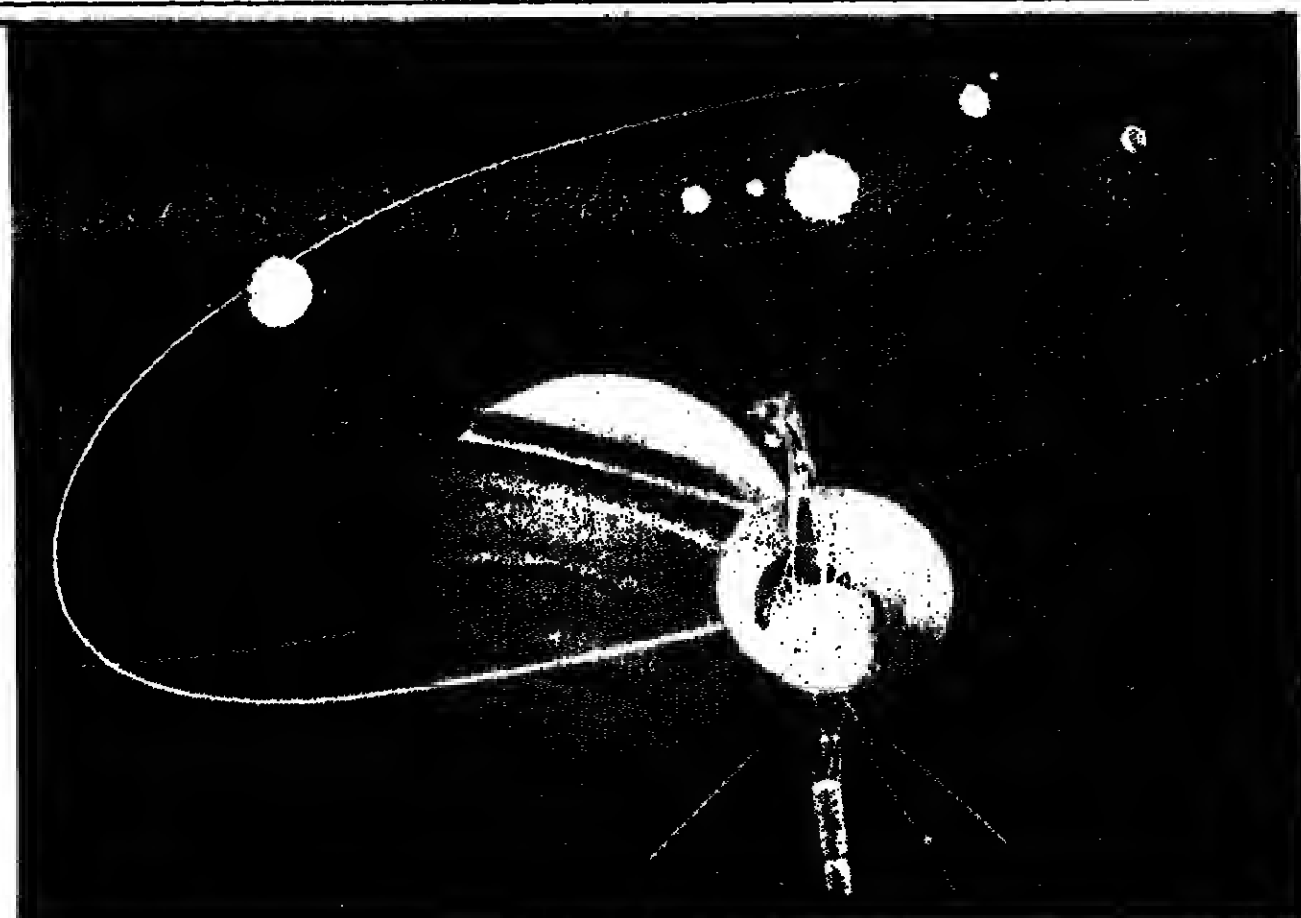
"We have moved from the infancy of space flight in the 1950s and childhood of the 1960s, when each new space 'first' elicited the world's breathless wonder, into the adolescence of the 1970s. Our concern now is turning from the fascination of adventurous exploration to the practical benefits that space technology can bring."

Both the AIAA and NASA are convinced that the shuttle promises to be a "safe, reliable, lower-cost" means of taking the journey out of earth's atmosphere. In so doing, this space "truck" will open up possibilities only dimly perceived at this time.

Critics, on the other hand, have argued that the large cost of the shuttle — already at \$4.5 billion and the most expensive single technology development program in the nation — may prove to be its undoing. The original estimated total cost of the program was \$5 billion.

Scientists who have worked in the unmanned program, in particular, feel that more can be accomplished per dollar with expendable rockets and robot probes. But the strongest faction within NASA is dedicated to manned space flights and the shuttle makes this possible.

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Voyager spacecraft — expected to survey Saturn's moons en route to possible 'Grand Tour' of space

This trip could last 12 years

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

American space scientists are poised for a mission that could last more than a decade, include contact with 16 major planetary bodies, and carry sounds of Earth beyond the solar system just in case there's someone out there listening.

Voyagers 1 and 2 are twin spacecraft aimed primarily at Jupiter and Saturn, but one of the ships may go on to fly by Uranus and Neptune as well.

For space scientists it's a once-in-a-career opportunity to probe the outer solar system. For space planners at

the Jet Propulsion Laboratory of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, which has charge of the mission, it's an opportunity to salvage some of the effort and expense they put into planning the so-called Grand Tour — a proposed mission to all the outer planets which never received funding approval.

By designing the flight trajectory so that Voyager 2 could be sent on to Uranus and Neptune, JPL has given itself an option to pick up part of the Grand Tour. And it has done it for the modest cost of roughly 6 percent of the \$335 million Voyager mission bill.

Thus, if successful, the Voyager mis-

sion will not only be an extraordinary feat of exploration, it will be a triumph of space scientists over budgetary restrictions as well.

Both Voyagers now are at the Kennedy Space Center in Florida, being readied for launch within a few weeks' time. Voyager 2 will be launched first, on or after Aug. 20. Voyager 1 is to follow no sooner than 12 days later.

During the long cruise to the first planetary target, Jupiter, Voyager 1 will overtake its twin and arrive at the giant planet with a nine-month lead in March, 1979. It should alert photographers the planet three months earlier.

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Africa meeting in London

Will Vorster's bitterness sour the olive branch?

By Geoffrey Godsell
Oversena news editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

The meeting in London last weekend of the U.S., British, and South African foreign ministers is a chess game in which the stakes are very high: whether or not a brake can be applied to the gathering momentum toward race war in southern Africa.

Of immediate concern to U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and British Foreign Secretary David Owen, who will be meeting South African Foreign Minister Riebel F. Botha, is the effort to move both Rhodesia and Namibia (South-West Africa) to internationally recognized independence under black majority rule. But it is increasingly clear it will be difficult

Moscow-U.S. take sides on 'Great Rift Valley' issues

By Joseph C. Harsch

American diplomacy continues to be occupied actively in three places having an interesting double relationship to one another — the Middle East, northeast Africa, and southern Africa.

The three trouble spots of the day are in a geographic north-south line — more or less the line of the great Rift Valley. The issues involved are tribal, not ideological.

The issue in the Middle East is Jews against Arabs. In northeast Africa it is Somalis and Arabs. In southern Africa it is whites against blacks.

The great powers are involved, yes. Moscow is encouraging and backing southern African blacks against whites. Moscow is trying to back both Ethiopians and Somalis. Moscow encourages the Palestinian refugees against Israel. Washington is trying to keep the black cause in southern Africa from becoming a Soviet monopoly. Washington is encouraging the

Mid-East peace outline reads better between the lines

By Daniel Sutherland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

At first glance, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance appears to have ended his Middle East peace mission on a note of failure.

Mr. Vance acknowledged at a press conference here that the gap between the Arabs and Israelis on key issues remains wide. But a careful examination of statements from both the Secretary of State and Israeli officials offers some hope of progress when foreign ministers from the countries involved in the Middle East conflict go to the United Nations General Assembly session next month.

Mr. Vance would then undertake a form of "shuttle" diplomacy, moving from one foreign minister to another. And the secretary held out the possibility that the observer of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at the United Nations would be brought into these

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Soviet Union

Moscow trips over building blocks

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Three of the main thrusts of Moscow's summertime diplomacy this year are in trouble:

• On the Horn of Africa, Kremlin strategy so far is to try to support both Ethiopia and Somalia, to blame neither for the current fighting, and to urge a rapid cease-fire. But the fighting goes on. Western diplomats here see the strategy as risky and almost bound to fail, given the centuries-old antagonism between the Ethiopians and Somalis.

• In the Middle East, the Soviets must waltz on the sidelines and see what comes from Secretary of State Cyrus Vance's efforts to arrange another Geneva peace conference. With its own fortunes at a low ebb in the Arab world, the Kremlin is insisting that the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) must not be frozen out of any new moves.

• On détente, the Soviets have had to adjust their approach as relations with Washington show few signs of improving. The Kremlin has slowed down personal criticism of President Carter — and has turned up its publicity campaign against the plotless cruise missile and the neutron bomb.

The Soviet position on the strategic Horn of Africa is very difficult. It wants to retain influence with both Ethiopians and Somalis to protect its position at the mouth of the Red Sea and in the northern stretches of the Indian Ocean.

During the past few weeks the Soviet press barely mentioned the fighting. It carried only brief reports citing Western news agencies, a veiled expression of concern from Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, and a reference to fighting in the general area.

On Aug. 7 the Soviet Communist Party newspaper Pravda published its first commentary in the form of a statement by the Soviet African Solidarity Commission, which usually mirrors Kremlin views.

Calling news of the fighting alarming, the statement steers a careful line between the two sides (although previous brief references in the press have talked mostly about the Ethiopians). It says imperialist forces, whom it does not name, are actually to blame, although it does not say how.

The Soviet public has always shown special sympathy to both Somalia and Ethiopia, the statement says. The fighting only helps imperialism and should stop at once.

Analysts here have expected the Soviets eventually to come out for the Ethiopians, who occupy the second most populous country in Africa. But they have been puzzled as to why the Kremlin should support a leader like Col. Mengistu Hailemariam, whom the analysts see as unable to impose order on his chaotic, faction-ridden nation.

And the Soviets have a friendship treaty with the Somalis. Its ships use the strategic port of Beletawa. It has a large stake in trying to salvage something from the fighting.

Pravda's weekly international news roundup Aug. 7 noted Syria's rejection of the working group proposal, and said the whole concept was hatched to leave out the PLO.

Meanwhile, analysts see one positive sign in the article on U.S.-Soviet ties by American writer George Arbatov, which appeared in Pravda Aug. 3. The article ended by calling for efforts from both sides rather than just from the United States.

Yet these analysts see no forward movement in relations. They are awaiting the outcome of the meeting on SALT (strategic arms limitation) to be held in Vienna Sept. 7-9 between Secretary Vance and Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko.



Fashion show, Moscow

The French look: Natasha says 'da', Big Brother says 'nyet'

Keeping up with the Joneskis

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

• The Leningrad man who bought a car only to find it now dominates his life, who worries constantly about its getting damaged and feels impelled to take long drives in it whether he wants to or not.

• The Soviet families who think they must keep up with the Joneskis by buying whatever their neighbors have — big-screen television sets, polished-wood wardrobes, crystal glasses.

• Others around the country who display meekness of books at home but do not read them — who will not buy clothes unless they are imported.

Those kinds of Soviet people who buy for prestige rather than for need are being cited here in new warnings about the dangers of believing that possessions automatically make people happy.

The warnings are part of a deepening concern among Soviet party and government officials. They feel, judging from articles in the central press, that people are becoming too obsessed by material things. There is even a new word for it: "materialism."

Indeed, Soviet people themselves agree on the marked increase in recent years in the thirst for status symbols such as new cars and color TV sets. Outdoing the neighbors is visibly on the rise.

At odds with officialdom

Party chiefs say this is incompatible with communist ideology. The new Soviet man is supposed to be selfless and idealistic, not selfish and materialistic.

Pravda, the Communist Party newspaper, has just reminded its readers that Western ideas that life can be best enriched by a system of private property are wrong.

Revolving a new book on ideological warfare, Pravda insists that only socialism can provide true freedom and enjoyment of life.

Yet communists are having its troubles, just as Western societies are.

According to Soviet Culture, a twice-weekly publication in Moscow, one Leningrad man

who bought a car became a slave to it. If he parked it outside his apartment, he constantly ran to the window to check that it had not been damaged or stolen.

So he kept it some distance away in a garage. Although he could get to work quite quickly by tram, he wanted to drive — which took longer. Although he really liked to walk in the woods in summer, he felt he had to drive hundreds of miles south to the Crimea.

Others delighted

The article makes no reference to the fact that many other Russians are delighted with their new cars. They wait for them up to five years and pay the equivalent of \$7,000 for a subcompact.

But it makes the point: Possession of this or that thing cannot change anything in one's life, as for example, simply owning a library at home can't make one an educated person.

Why feel anxious of a polished wardrobe in a neighbor's apartment, the article asks? Maybe it doesn't suit the neighbor's home. Maybe it isn't really useful. Or perhaps that new big-screen TV is just too big for the room it's in.

A letter to the same publication in April had ridiculed people who join long lines outside to look at a new car. "It poured scorn on people who buy books for show, not for education."

War sharing recalled

This correspondent has talked with thoughtful, older Russians who genuinely deplore the current rush for new possessions. They remember the days before and after World War II. Times were desperately hard; they readily admit. But, they say, everyone was in it together. People shared.

Today, they say, too many Soviet people keep to themselves, compete for possessions, and look for status rather than true happiness.

All this has a familiar ring to Western ears. A common line of debate among Western specialists on the Soviet Union is whether the rush for consumer goods will ever weaken the hold of the Communist Party on the country.

So far, specialists here feel, there is little sign of this, but the party is worried at a loss of socialist fervor, just the same.

Dissidents ponder their plight

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

In an open-necked blue shirt, 1975 Nobel Peace Prize-winner Andrei D. Sakharov slipped a glass of cherry juice and mopped his high forehead against the heat.

Across the room electronics engineer Vladimir Slepak, veteran of seven years of campaigning to emigrate to Israel and possessor of a letter of support from President Carter, leaned against a wall and stroked his graying beard.

Taking part in a press conference with Western newsmen, they were two of the few remaining dissident leaders still free after a sustained crackdown by the Kremlin that has managed to worsen U.S.-Soviet relations over the past 12 months.

Now both dissidents and Western analysts here are asking three fundamental questions: Where is the dissident movement headed? Has President Carter's campaign helped or hindered? And what has the past year actually achieved?

As with so many other issues here, the answers are speculative at best. But some changes do seem in store for dissidents. And while most dissidents say Mr. Carter has helped them, there is a minority view which argues that outside pressure can have no real reforming effect on the Soviet system.

That the Kremlin crackdown has hurt the dissident movement as a whole seems undeniable.

Although exact numbers are hard to pin down, only four members of the Moscow group set up in 1976 by Dr. Yuri Orlov to check Soviet handling of human rights issues are still free. They include Mr. Slepak, Prof. Naim Moiseyev, former Maj. Gen. Pyotr Grigorenko, and Yelena Bonner (Dr. Sakharov's second wife).

Other dissidents are not active in Dr. Orlov's Helsinki group (named after the 1975 Helsinki declaration on détente in Europe). Dr. Sakharov is the most prominent example.

Many of the dissidents are Jewish, but not all. It was Dr. Orlov's feat to unite differing dissident strands — Jewish, nationalist, civil libertarian — behind his own banner. Other religious groups, including Pentecostals and Baptists, are active.

But the past year has been one of harassment and suffering, despite world headlines. Mr. Shcharansky faces a charge of treason. Mr. Ginzburg, of spreading defamations about the state, and Dr. Orlov, of anti-Soviet agitation. All three face long prison sentences of three years or more.

At the end of the year, the Soviet government is preparing for a major conference in the autumn to review compliance with the Helsinki declaration. They may challenge Mr. Carter to speak out again, and the result could be more U.S.-Soviet tensions.

Dissidents themselves say many young people want to join them and that the Helsinki group continues its work. (Its latest appeal was issued Aug. 2, asking for help for the family of a gifted young mathematician, Grigori Chudnovsky, who wants to emigrate to obtain urgent medical care.)

Another view here, among Western sources, is that the leadership of the movement may well fragment. Protests may become more violent, more rooted in the causes of some of the Soviet Union's many nationalities.

It may be harder for the West to know about these protests. News is always more difficult to obtain outside Moscow.

Has it all been worth it? Yes, the dissidents say, and Western sources agree. They see Soviet society as somewhat more liberal now than eight years ago, when the dissidents were just starting to make themselves heard.

"Mr. Carter must keep on speaking out," says one dissident.

United States

To blacks, Carter's halo begins to dim

By John Dilin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Six months ago, when Jimmy Carter took office, lean-age black unemployment hovered just over 36 percent. Since then it has climbed to 37.8 percent during the first quarter of 1977, and to 38.2 percent in the second quarter.

Such disappointing statistics worry black leaders, who had expected the Carter White House to pump new hope into the nation's black neighborhoods.

Some blacks are responding with anger, some with dismay, some with puzzlement over White House policies, which they call too patently to make a dent in persistent joblessness among blacks and other minorities.

Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, kicked off the latest round of criticism July 24 when he lashed at the White House in a lengthy speech before the league's annual conference in Washington. But Mr. Jordan's attack was quickly echoed by others.

"John Kennedy gave us hope with the New Frontier," noted one black official, "Lyndon Johnson, another Democrat, gave us the Great Society. But from Jimmy Carter, all we get is the balanced budget."

That kind of unhappiness is beginning to show up in the polls. A CBS-New York Times study in mid-July found the President rapidly losing support among blacks. Although 83 percent of the black community approved Mr. Carter's performance in April, that has sagged to 69 percent. Attacks by black leaders could bring further losses.

Rep. Parren J. Mitchell (D) of Maryland, chairman of the congressional Black Caucus, observes that the U.S. unemployment rate is about 7 percent, but among blacks it is close to 14 percent. And among black youths it is far higher, especially in the cities.

"In light of that," says Mr. Mitchell, "when the President talks about a reduction of 1 percent in unemployment by the beginning of 1978, that would only reduce black unemployment to 13 percent."

The unemployment rate for youth in urban

areas would drop from 45 percent to about 44, he calculates. And he says this is totally unacceptable.

What worries black leaders most are the signals they are getting from the White House about future policies. Too much concern in being paid to balancing the budget and inflation, too little to hard-core problems that the President had promised during his campaign to solve, they say.

"Once you have decided to balance the budget, tight inflation, and launch the 'moral equivalent of war' against the energy crisis, do you really have time for those issues that got you elected?" asks Rep. John Conyers Jr. (D) of Michigan.

It is becoming clear to black members of Congress, says Mr. Conyers, that a balanced budget has become the first order of priority. And fighting inflation has become more important than development of jobs.

Such decisions during the first six months of the Carter administration already may have set the framework for the next four years, Mr. Conyers suggests. This is what concerns the

black community: that their problems have again been set on the back burner.

A touchstone of black concern is the Humphrey-Hawkins full employment bill which Mr. Carter promised during the campaign to support.

The bill calls for reducing unemployment among persons 20 years old and over to 3 percent within four years.

"We've been very disappointed that the administration hasn't come out flatly for the bill," says an aide to Rep. Augustus F. Hawkins (D) of California. Instead, notes an aide to Representative Conyers, the White House sent economic adviser Charles L. Schultz to Capitol Hill, and he "did a hatchet job" on the bill.

On March 7 the black caucus sent a letter to the White House requesting a meeting on the bill. Instead, members got only a letter from the President's appointments secretary, Tim Kraft, stating there was no time for such a meeting.

Such treatment comes as a surprise to blacks, who gave Mr. Carter 84 percent of their votes in the presidential election.

Pornography: smut or freedom of the press?

By Gary Thatcher
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Atlanta, the unofficial capital of the South, is the latest flashpoint in the continuing nationwide battle over pornography.

A crackdown on mass-circulation "adult" magazines by county officials here has resulted in the arrest of Edward Elson, a local distributor and former member of the President's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography. He is charged with distribution of obscene material.

Because Mr. Elson is a prominent figure in the publishing industry, reverberations from his arrest have been felt across the country. Corporations he owns or controls distribute magazines in airport terminals and hotels throughout the nation.

Stakes are also high for the magazines involved — Hustler, High Society, Penthouse, Out, and Genesis. A jury finding in a major city like Atlanta that these magazines are obscene "will toll a lot of prosecutors across the country to take a look at them," predicts Ed Kondrat, national director of citizens for Decency Through Law.

But others see the arrests (and subsequent disappearance of the magazines from newsstand shelves) as a threat to civil liberties. The Georgia chapters of the American Civil Liberties Union and American Library Association say developments here pose "a serious threat to individual liberties" and predict that censorship of books, paintings, plays, and films could follow.

Mr. Elson's arrest underscores the controversy still surrounding such magazines even seven years after the presidential commission on which he served issued its report. Mr. Elson concurred with the majority on the commission that all federal, state, and local laws "prohibiting the sale, exhibition, or distribution of sexual materials to consenting adults should be repealed." However, he insisted that there was still a need to curb display of such material in retail stores, transportation terminals, and building lobbies to prevent them "from being thrust upon the public unexpectedly at any time."

Apparently Mr. Elson did not follow his own advice. The "adult" magazines at his newsstands in Atlanta's Hartsfield International Airport — the second-busiest in the nation — were prominently displayed near the cash register, making them hard to miss.

Prosecutors here insist they acted only after they received "a substantial number of complaints" from the public, especially parents.

"The laws are on the books, and we're sworn to enforce them," says John Thompson, a county solicitor with jurisdiction over many suburban newsstands here.

The traditional defense open to those accused on pornography charges, namely, that the law they are accused of breaking is unconstitutional, cannot be used in Georgia state courts. The Georgia Supreme Court has found the state's obscenity law passes constitutional muster, and it is patterned after U.S. Supreme Court obscenity guidelines.

Prosecutors say they are confident that if the case reaches a jury, they can obtain a conviction. Hustler publisher Larry Flynt was convicted in Cincinnati earlier this year on obscenity charges, and now is appealing to a federal court. Cases involving the other magazines have rarely been successfully prosecuted, primarily because obscenity cases are often disposed of on procedural grounds before a jury trial is reached.

Officials for all of the magazines argue that the material they print is protected under First Amendment guarantees of freedom of the press.



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United States

Korean influence-peddlers: something for everyone?

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The South Korean bribery investigation on Capitol Hill, so far confined mostly to Democrats in the House of Representatives, may go bicameral and bipartisan.

Sources close to the probe have told the Monitor that seized Korean documents mention some 30 U.S. senators targeted for special treatment. This is roughly one-third of the chamber and includes a much greater proportion of Republicans than had been mentioned in the House probe.

The materials acquired by investigators are reported to include that of a dozen or so of the 30 mentioned by the Koreans have had "serious" involvement with South Korean influence-seekers. And the records are said to include the names of a few of the Senate's most powerful and best-known figures.

It was not yet clear what degree of involvement, if any, existed for others listed in the Korean documents.

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AP photo
Perk: giver of controversial gifts

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The Senator told reporters in Chicago Aug. 8 that the "quiet, informal" Korean inquiry his committee began last spring will be stepped up as a result of investigative records recently supplied by Attorney General Griffin B. Bell and Director of Central Intelligence Stanislaw Turner.

Senator Stevenson said he and the committee vice-chairman, Sen. Harrison H. Schmitt (R) of New Mexico, expect in the next week or two to appoint a special counsel who is "prominent nationally as a man of integrity" to supervise the Senate investigation.

Making prison safe for 285,000 inmates

By Brad Kalickbocker
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

San Francisco

Faced with a rapidly growing prison population in the United States — one increasingly made up of young inmates convicted of violent crimes — prison officials are seeking ways to avert the kind of racial violence that has broken out recently in several California prisons.

Fourteen convicts have been killed in California prisons since the beginning of this year. Several of the killings, including three in July, were said to be racial incidents.

Particularly needed, say both prison reform advocates and corrections professionals, are the kinds of innovative programs now being tried in several states. These include independent ombudsmen available to inmates, specially trained prison staff to handle inter-racial disruptions, and ways for less-dangerous offenders to remain under supervision in their own communities rather than being sent to institutions said to "breed crime."

There now are 285,000 inmates in all prisons and jails in the United States, 20 percent more than a year ago. High unemployment, better police training, speedier trials, more plea bargaining, and a public "backlash" against rehabilitation programs help to explain the recent increase, according to Anthony Trivisono, executive director of the American Correctional Association.

But whether racial unrest in prisons is on the wane — or getting worse — as a result, is uncertain. Except for the recent California outbreaks, many prison authorities think that racial tensions have in fact eased somewhat since the more volatile 1960s and early 1970s.

"I don't mean to paint too rosy a picture, but we see less of that now than we did a few years back," says Henry Mascarello, consultant to the Crime and Justice Foundation (formerly the Massachusetts Council on Crime and Correction). "We have reduced some of the hopelessness that has confronted people in prison heretofore."

Mr. Trivisono, whose organization repre-

sents 12,000 corrections and probation officers, agrees that "the trends are very positive."

But he quickly adds that with rapidly increasing prison populations, he "would not be amazed to see some racial tension increase." Recent rushes of inmate-set fires, he says, are an indication of potential trouble.

Younger inmates often are members of a racial minority, and apt to have a history of personal violence. In some states this has led to the formation of inmate gangs like the "Mexican Mafia," "Aryan Brotherhood" and "Black Guerrilla Family."

To reduce such tensions, these ideas are being tried:

• More members of minorities on prison staffs.

Arizona now has a 35 percent Mexican-American staff in its maximum security prison in Florence, to accommodate an inmate population that is 26 percent Mexican-American. In California, members of minority races now make up 26 percent of the state's prison staff, compared with only 6 percent a decade ago.

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• Smaller, more manageable prisons and prison units.

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• Dispute settlement by special staff members, outside experts in arbitration, or inmates themselves who are respected by other inmates. Such groups as the American Arbitration Association have helped resolve conflicts, and the Center for Community Justice has assisted corrections officials in New York, Kentucky, and South Carolina in setting up grievance procedures for inmates and parolees.

• As a way of relieving the overcrowding that can lead to racial problems, many prison reformers continue to push for fewer prisons, along with special programs outside of prison for offenders who are not apt to be violent or repeat their crimes.

• More volunteer groups coming into prisons to help alleviate the isolation felt by inmates.

"Religious programs specifically talk about self-worth and dignity," says Father Richard Mountain, chief chaplain for federal prisons. "And when people start to appreciate themselves, they start to appreciate other people, then racial tension is mitigated."

Prison officials also are watching with particular interest Minnesota's experience with a "communities correction act" now being expanded from a few pilot counties in the state to areas including most of the population.

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Black and white inmates unable to see each other, play checkers on death row

AP photo

United States

Carter's pro-work, pro-family welfare plan

By Lucio Moult
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

President Carter and Congress agree on the evils of the present welfare system, but can they agree on an alternative?

That is the \$11 billion question being debated here as the President asks Congress to scrap the old system and replace it with his new and slightly more expensive "better jobs and income" program.

Most lawmakers would readily buy the plan's pro-work, pro-family, and anti-fraud goals. It is the "how to" specifics of getting more of the poor off welfare and onto payrolls and assuring that work is always more profitable than welfare that are sure to be the controversial focus of what President Carter himself has said will be "long, tough negotiations."

Favorable reactions

However, early reaction to the President's reform plan — from influential Democratic lawmakers to representatives of such groups as the National Urban League and the U.S. Conference of Mayors — has been surprisingly, if cautiously, favorable.

The reason in large part appears to be the politically appealing changes which the President quietly made in the plan only a few days before it was made public in Plains, Georgia, Aug. 8. Basically, these changes offer more fiscal relief to burdened state and local governments than the President originally intended and significantly tightened up the work requirement in the plan.

Indeed, many consider the work requirement the one ele-

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Requirement expanded

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"I think Carter has taken the work requirement about as far as he could sensibly take it — it's really not very harsh," comments Brookings Institution welfare expert John Palmer.

Moynihan beckings

Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D) of New York, chairman of the Senate finance subcommittee which will consider the plan in the fall, told reporters at breakfast recently that it is a "magificent proposal" which has "a good chance of getting through because of that work requirement." He says he thinks the atmosphere in this country has changed significantly for the better over the last eight years to the point where work for women is regarded more as a "right" than a "punishment."

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Welfare reform: her mother has the 'right' to work

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Critics high and low

However the content and price tag of the changes are also drawing criticism from conservative Republicans who consider the plan too generous, and from organized welfare groups who call it too spartan.

One area sure to be controversial, for instance, is the creation of 1.4 million public service jobs and training positions which the administration itself bills as "the biggest jobs program since the Depression."

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United States

Korean influence-peddlers: something for everyone?

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The South Korean bribery investigation in Capitol Hill, so far confined mostly to Democrats in the House of Representatives, may go bicameral and bipartisan.

Sources close to the probe have told the Monitor that seized Korean documents mention some 30 U.S. senators targeted for special treatment. This is roughly one-third of the chamber and includes a much greater proportion of Republicans than had been mentioned in the House probe.

The materials acquired by investigators are reported to indicate that a dozen or so of the 30 mentioned by the Koreans have had "scrupulous" involvement with South Korean influence-seekers. And the records are said to include the names of a few of the Senate's most powerful and best-known figures.

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Making prison safe for 285,000 inmates

By Brad Knickerbocker
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

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AP photo

United States

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By Lucia Mouat
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

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Moynihan backings

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Africa

Exclusive interview with S. African Prime Minister

Vorster's answers to southern African problems

By Geoffrey Godsell

Overseas news editor of The Christian Science Monitor
Pretoria, South Africa

South African Prime Minister John Vorster, in an exclusive interview here, made these points:

• **Rhodesia:** A prerequisite for a solution is the identification of a black leader by either a black referendum or a black election. Without expressly saying so, Mr. Vorster did not exclude from such a test of popularity the black Rhodesian leaders with guerrilla connections, Joshua Nkomo and Robert Mugabe, both of whom are anathema to white Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith.

• **One-man, one-vote in South Africa:** This is absolutely not negotiable — meaning that the South African Government will never agree to blacks here having a vote for or in a white parliament.

• **South African-U.S. relations:** While Henry Kissinger was secretary of state, things had been moving forward. But with the arrival of the Carter administration in Washington, "we had to start from the beginning again."

"The main difference between the Carter administration and the South African Government," Mr. Vorster said, "can be put in a nutshell: The Carter administration, and especially [its UN Ambassador] Mr. Young, wants to equate the position of the American black in the South with the position of the black man in South Africa. Our standpoint is that you cannot equate the two whatsoever."

• **Namibia:** It is quite possible that the presence of South African troops in the territory (known here as South-West Africa), will be an issue when representatives of the five Western members of the Security Council confer at United Nations headquarters in New York on their latest discussions with Mr. Vorster here on independence for the territory.

On the difference between the American black and the black man in South Africa, Mr. Vorster said:

"The black men in the United States have been divested of his African personality, his culture, his language, his tradition, and his way of life, and he is the descendant of slaves. The South African black was never a slave. He is a member of a nation in his own right. He has his own language, his own traditions, and way of life, with his own land and

his own laws and customs. Our aim and object is that each nation [i.e., tribal homeland], should become independent."

Mr. Vorster said that this standpoint had been at the center of his discussions with U.S. Vice-President Walter Mondale in Vienna in May and that he had argued it very forcefully. But he could not judge how far it has now been accepted by the Carter administration.

The Prime Minister said his government welcomes U.S. interest in southern Africa, but "we will not accept that the United States has a right to prescribe what should be done. We are prepared to discuss but we are not prepared to take orders."

Discussing Rhodesia, Mr. Vorster said there are so many claimants to black leadership that it is imperative to identify the one having the confidence of the majority of blacks. He declined to say whether South Africa would accept or want the names of Mr. Nkomo or Mr. Mugabe on any ballot, saying this is not the South African Government's business. But he added that the South African Government would accept any eventual black government in Rhodesia that "did not meddle in our business or accept bases on its territory directed against South Africa."

Turning to Namibia — until now run by South Africa — Mr. Vorster gave the impression that there are no hitches between the Western powers and his government about the process of appointing a UN representative to supervise elections as a prelude to independence.

But his remarks were open to the inference that difficulties could arise over the continued presence of South African troops during the election. The question was raised when the Western powers had their talks in New York with Sam Njoma, leader of the South-West Africa People's Organization, the most articulate and active African political party in Namibia.

South Africa was initially reluctant to include SWAPO in Namibia elections, but now has agreed to this. SWAPO, however, has so far taken the line that elections cannot be fair if South African troops remain there during the campaign and voting.

Asked if the South African Government has given the Western powers its final offer on Namibia, Mr. Vorster said: "We have put our point of view very clearly. We don't



Vorster: 'We don't do horse-trading'

do horse-trading, and that is the end of it.

"The South African Government's attitude is perfectly fair and perfectly reasonable: that the territory as a whole become independent and that the people have a right to decide their future and elect their government."

"Until that day arrives, South Africa is responsible for law and order and for safeguarding the integrity of the territory — and that we will do."

Rhodesian election a non-issue for black majority

By Tony Hawkins
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Salisbury, Rhodesia
Rhodesia's general election, set for Aug. 31, is of little concern to the 8.5 million blacks, who are in a 24-to-1 majority.

Only a small proportion of the blacks are entitled to vote because of qualifications based on property ownership and income. Even those who qualify tend to view the election as irrelevant to the question of transferring power into black hands.

For whites, there will be a lively contest between the 120 candidates contesting the 50 seats reserved for whites in the Rhodesian

Parliament. The only unopposed white candidate is Prime Minister Ian Smith.

For blacks, candidates in five of the eight directly elected black seats in the 66-member Parliament are unopposed, while 13 candidates are contesting the three other elected seats. The final eight black seats are filled by the tribal leaders' nominees.

The main opposition to Mr. Smith's ruling Rhodesian Front comes from the right-wing Rhodesia Action Party (RAP), contesting 46 of the 50 white seats.

With the defection of 12 of Mr. Smith's supporters during the last session of Parliament, RAP held 12 seats in the previous Parliament, but it is not expected to retain them at the polls. Instead, political observers here say, the

new party may get no more than five or six seats.

RAP stands for a more aggressive war policy, including retaliatory raids into neighboring countries that harbor guerrillas (Botswana, Zambia, and Mozambique), a harder line against nationalist parties inside Rhodesia that support the guerrillas (which it would ban), and a three-tiered government structure that would leave the whites in control of their own areas and a multiracial federal government in overall control.

Mr. Smith also is opposed by 18 candidates from the National Unifying Force (NUF), led by Allan Savory. This is a group of white liberals that wants to abolish all racial discrimination, to establish immediately a na-

tional government, including black leaders, and to negotiate for an early handover to majority rule on the basis of universal franchise. The NUF, which contested the 1974 election as the Rhodesia Party, failed to win a seat in Parliament but did attract some 18 percent of the votes. This time the party seems unlikely to win as much as 10 percent of the votes and many, probably most, of its candidates are likely to lose their deposits.

In calling the election Mr. Smith is seeking a mandate either to negotiate a settlement internally with moderate leaders of the country's 8.5 million blacks, such as Bishop Abel Muzorewa and the Rev. Ndenabani Sithole, or to achieve an externally recognized settlement through negotiations with the British and U.S. Governments.

But he has made it clear he sees little prospect of an external agreement because, he says, Britain and the United States are "pandering" to the militant Patriotic Front, led by Joshua Nkomo (who recently visited Cuba in search of military hardware for the guerrilla war), and Robert Mugabe.

Mr. Smith says, he would draw up a new constitution for an independent Rhodesia.

However, even the most moderate of the black leaders, Chief Chirau, who heads the Zimbabwe United People's Organization, has refused to participate in the elections and has demanded a one-man, one-vote constitution within 18 to 24 months.

Bishop Muzorewa and the Rev. Mr. Sithole have both made it clear that they will refuse to participate in the broadly based "interim" government that Mr. Smith plans to establish, unless he first sets a definite date for majority rule under universal franchise.

Hope of achieving a compromise settlement with blacks seem slim. Most recently, the Smith government has announced that it will evict more than 20 black families currently living in a "white" suburb of Salisbury. Among those listed for eviction are two moderate nationalist politicians, one of them the Rev. Mr. Sithole.



Blacks equal in the market, but not in the voting booth

By Gordon Converse, chief photographer

Africa

Bombing in Salisbury

Did it damage the Mugabe-Nkomo 'marriage'?

By Tony Hawkins
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Salisbury, Rhodesia

The impact of Rhodesia's latest terrorist incidents is largely political. In particular, the Aug. 6 bombing of a Salisbury department store, killing 11, has hardened the attitudes of the right-wing Rhodesia Action Party (RAP), which wants to outlaw the domestic nationalist parties that support the guerrillas.

The RAP seized on a reported claim by Robert Mugabe, leader of the Zimbabwe African National Union, based in Mozambique, that his party was responsible for the Salisbury bombing.

Mr. Mugabe's partner in the militant Patriotic Front, Joshua Nkomo, who is in Guyana after visiting Cuba in search of war materials, denied any involvement in the incident and predicted that the blame on the Rhodesian security forces.

Government officials are resigned to this kind of accusation from Mr. Nkomo, who has blamed all atrocities in the war so far, on the

Rhodesian forces. But the split between the Mugabe and Nkomo wings of the Patriotic Front on the issue is evidence, officials say, of the fragile nature of their "marriage of convenience."

Intentions questioned

These officials say the incident ought to help to convince British Foreign Secretary David Owen and U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance, who met in London last week to discuss Rhodesia, that the militant Patriotic Front is not interested in a peaceful political settlement. But the Rhodesian Government is increasingly resigned to the prospect of settlement proposals being offered by Mr. Vance and Dr. Owen that will be totally unacceptable to black moderates, as well as to white Rhodesians.

The British-American terms will figure large in the Rhodesian general election campaign now gathering momentum ahead of voting day on Aug. 31.

While the Salisbury bombing has been condemned by all the white parties and most of

the nationalist movements, it increasingly is becoming a political football. Right-wingers such as the RAP claim that such incidents will continue until a tougher stance is taken in the war. Moderates argue that only by securing an early and peaceful settlement can the killings — in the bush and now in the towns — be ended.

Yet Rhodesians generally have reacted calmly to the bombing, the worst urban terrorist incident in the country's history. Police here have long expected a bombing campaign of this kind and have been rather surprised that it had not occurred earlier. At the same time, they say they have no reason yet — despite two incidents within 36 hours — to believe that the attack on a Salisbury department store patronized mainly by blacks, marks the start of a Belfast-style campaign.

Rail line hit

The second incident occurred in the early hours of Aug. 8, when saboteurs blew up the railway line from Salisbury to the farming town of Simba. Damage was only minor and the line was back in operation by noon. The in-

cident occurred only a few hundred yards from the Kambuzuma African township, close to the capital.

Rhodesian police have launched an intensive security campaign. Police teams visited business premises to advise on security precautions while the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Rhodesia is bringing out a pamphlet instructing its members what to do.

Department stores in Salisbury have said they saw no reduction in business but they quickly introduced security precautions. A number of stores closed off some of their entrances and searched shoppers coming in from the street. Others said they would be increasing the number of plain-clothes and uniformed security staff employed.

The city's main hotels started refusing to take packages for collection from out-of-town visitors.

Police have televised advice to shoppers, and motorists, warning them to lock their vehicles to prevent cars from being used to ferry bombs in intended targets. Bomb drill practices have been held at schools.

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Asia

It was Mrs. Gandhi's hand that gagged the press

White paper says faith in media was shattered

By Mohan Rani
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

Former Prime Minister Indira Gandhi personally directed the gagging of Indian newspapers, the virtual take-over by the state of news agencies, and the misuse of the government radio and television systems during the 20½-month state of emergency that ended last March.

Those are some of the findings of an Aug. 1 white paper presented to Parliament for discussion by the government of new Prime Minister Morarji Desai. The document, which is more than 100 pages long and thought to be the first of its kind here in 30 years of independence, calls Mrs. Gandhi's exercise of emergency powers "rotten" and something "totally inconceivable in a democracy."

Mrs. Gandhi originally proclaimed the emergency in late June, 1975, for the purpose of safeguarding Indian democracy from political subversion.

Faith shattered

"No wonder by the time the emergency ended, public faith in the reliability of the media had been completely shattered," the white paper says.

As the white paper describes it:

- Indian newspapers, once regarded as the freest in Asia after those of Japan, soon found themselves muzzled by the censorship regulations after the emergency took effect. Even court proceedings were subjected to pre-censorship.
- Journalists and their families were harassed, and at least 253 of them were imprisoned without trial. Correspondents were denied access to news sources. Papers were pressured by the denial of advertising and supplies of newsprint. (In India, government advertisements account for a substantial part of revenue for most newspapers, and the government also regulates newsprint allocations.) Printing plants were seized

or, in the case of defiant newspapers, sizable security deposits were demanded.

• A series of new press laws was passed by Parliament that institutionalized the emergency curbs and made them immune from judicial scrutiny.

(Journalists saw these new laws as more draconian than any imposed during the British colonial days. Some often spoke of a climate of fear that pervaded the corridors of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, which was charged with regulating the media.)

• With the press and news agencies under centralized control, the state radio and television systems became "propaganda instruments" of the ruling party and "peddlers of the personality cult."

According to the white paper, not only was Mrs. Gandhi's own image tarnished, but the media also acted to do the same for her younger son, Sanjay. At first, it says, All India Radio was asked to describe him as "youth leader." Later, the description was to be dropped, presumably to convey the impression that he was a national leader who did not require description.

At the same time, however, the younger Gandhi held no official position in the government or in the Congress Party, which his mother led and which had ruled India without interruption since independence.

• While there was "exaggerated" publicity for government and ruling party activities, along with attacks on opposition leaders, the latter's replies seldom were mentioned. The radio also was used to "uncover" and stress incidents real or imagined as the culmination of opposition violence.

Among other points made by the white paper is the allegation that the Gandhi government had made plans to join foreign radio broadcasts critical of the emergency rule.

The report was prepared by K. K. Dass, a former Information Ministry official.



Bandphoto

Gandhi: personally shackled the press

Japan's billion-dollar bonus for Asian neighbors

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Japan has offered a conditional \$1 billion of aid in what could be the beginning of a historic partnership with the five-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The offer, as conveyed by Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda Aug. 7 after the second ASEAN summit here, appears to lay the groundwork for a continuing economic dialogue between his country and the 10-year-old regional association. It came as the meeting of leaders of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand completed another chapter in their cautious search for a stronger regional grouping to help compensate for the "vacuum" left by the American defeat in Vietnam.

In a joint statement issued with the ASEAN heads of government, Mr. Fukuda pledged:

- To "consider favorably" a request for \$1 billion to help finance five proposed joint ASEAN industrial projects.
- To help "facilitate" ASEAN's efforts to in-

crease exports to Japan, "including further examination of ASEAN's requests for removal and/or relaxation of tariff and non-tariff barriers."

• To conduct a "joint examination" of the possibilities of establishing a method for stabilizing the prices of ASEAN-produced commodities exported to Japan.

A condition attached

But the Japanese \$1 billion aid offer clearly "threw the ball back into the ASEAN court," in the words of one observer here. For it contained the condition that it would be extended "provided each project was established as an ASEAN project and that its feasibility was confirmed."

ASEAN sources long have talked of seeking \$1 billion in aid from Japan for financing five joint industrial projects agreed upon 18 months ago at the first summit meeting. But results of the second summit confirm the difficulties are in store for several of the projects, which include urea fertilizer plants in Indonesia and Malaysia, a phosphorus fertilizer plant in the Philippines, a diesel engine factory in Singa-

pore, and a soda ash fertilizer plant in Thailand.

Because Indonesia plans to build its own factory to manufacture diesel engines under 500 horsepower, it is insisting that the Singapore factory make only engines over 500 hp, a condition that Singapore says would make the proposed project economically impractical.

Alternatives sought

Low demand for fertilizer and other factors have cast shadows over several of the other projects. ASEAN planners are seeking possible alternatives, including plants to manufacture heavy-duty rubber tires, metalworking machinery tools, newsprint, tin plate, television picture tubes, and potash. Fisheries are planned, too.

As a result, this year's summit confirmed that of the five, only Indonesia's urea plant project is anywhere near completion. The feasibility study on the project has been completed, and it could be launched by mid-1978, an ASEAN communiqué indicated. But the four other projects are still bogged down in feasibility studies, according to the communiqué.

This only one ASEAN project is at the stage where the Japanese can be asked for a specific commitment. Therefore, hopes for large-scale Japanese involvement in these ASEAN ventures have been set back.

Tariff-free market

But if the feasibility study for the Indonesia urea plant is approved by the ASEAN economic ministers meeting in Bangkok, Thailand, next month, Japan will then be asked to contribute \$288 million (three-quarters of the cost) in low-interest loans. Indonesia would provide 60 percent of the rest and other ASEAN members 10 percent each. The urea fertilizer produced would be guaranteed a tariff-free market in all five member countries.

As a result of further expected delays with four of the five industrial projects, attention in the ASEAN-Japanese discussions expected to shift to Japan's expressed willingness to explore tariff reduction and price stabilization plans.

ASEAN members have long sought such concessions as part of the "rich-nation, poor-nation" dialogue.

ASEAN family grows closer

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia

Just how much have nearly five days of conferences and communiqués contributed to the peace and stability of Southeast Asia?

Progress has been slow, difficult, and untrammelled. But there are signs of continuing growth.

That is a widely held view of the second summit meeting of the 10-year-old Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The conference produced few surprises and virtually no achievements or breakthroughs that had not been expected or agreed upon well in advance. But for a symbolic first time the leaders of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Thailand have met person to person to discuss economic issues as a group with the leaders of Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

The results left Southeast Asia's most vocal advocate of regional economic cooperation visibly disappointed. Said Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore, "Certain objectives of ASEAN cannot be achieved as quickly as some of us would have wished them to be. . . . We have to accept a pace of intra-ASEAN economic cooperation which is more congenial to all of us, even though it may be less than what is achievable if we all set our sights higher."

On the positive side, the conference produced:

• An unconditional dropping of the Philippines' claim to the Malaysian State of Sabah. The announcement by President Ferdinand Marcos was expected to improve relations between the two countries and pave the way for tight new controls that would keep Muslims in Sabah from aiding fellow Muslims who are insurgents in the southern Philippines.

• Signing of a previously negotiated "swap" agreement. ASEAN members with balance-of-payments problems would be able to borrow American dollars from a \$100 million standby pool set up with a \$20 million donation by each of the five countries.

• Approval of rice- and oil-sharing agreements under which members that are short in these commodities would be given preference in buying them from other member countries with surpluses.

• Endorsement of a prior agreement to reduce tariffs in

member countries in 71 items, although the No. 1 manufacturing state among them, Singapore, was clearly disappointed that items for tariff reduction were limited to that number. In deference to protectionist sentiment in countries like Indonesia, the ASEAN leaders agreed to enlarge the list only after further study.

The failure of the conference to move toward carrying out five joint industrial projects (agreed upon at the first ASEAN summit at Bali, Indonesia, 18 months ago) was widely seen as a serious setback to the momentum toward mutual cooperation.

Four of the five projects have failed to get beyond the feasibility studies, which meant ASEAN leaders could exert little pressure on Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda for specific aid commitments to the projects. Mr. Fukuda stressed that the Japanese offer of \$1 billion in low-interest loans for financing the projects is conditional on agreement by ASEAN to back the projects as feasible.

It remains to be seen whether Mr. Fukuda's offer will spur ASEAN members to move faster on the five projects or on possible substitutes now under consideration.

Japan's other offers (to consider relaxation of trade barriers on ASEAN goods and to jointly examine possibilities for stabilizing the prices of ASEAN-exported commodities) were pledges of intent rather than specific commitments.

As expected, Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser restated the demand that his country reduce its trade barriers to ASEAN products. Instead, Australia agreed to increase bilateral aid to ASEAN countries to \$250 million. Also agreed on was a consultative arrangement with ASEAN countries to discuss any future Australian tariff hikes.

New Zealand, with which ASEAN trade differences are relatively minor, pledged continued cooperation and a \$50 million increase in aid over five years if suitable projects are identified.

The mixed results of the summit omitted concrete steps to increase the power and size of the permanent Jakarta-based ASEAN secretariat.

Looming over all of this was the question of how to deal with Communist Indo-China. Despite continuing Vietnamese attacks on ASEAN as a "tool of the United States," the summit communiqué stressed the intention of developing peaceful and mutually beneficial relations with all countries of the re-



AP photo

Lee — wishes ASEAN sights had been set higher.

gion, including Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam.

But Thailand's continuing border frictions with Cambodia and Laos were of obvious concern to other ASEAN members, even though they refrained from using the harsh anti-Communist language of Thai Prime Minister Thanin Kraivichien.

On the one hand, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, and Singapore do not want Thailand to succumb to an externally aligned Communist insurgency. On the other, they do not want to abandon the ASEAN objective of forming a zone of peace, freedom, and neutrality by embracing Thailand's anti-Vietnam stance.

Another Vietnam-related issue is the concern of some ASEAN leaders that Japan's desire to improve relations with the Indo-China states may cause it to go slow in aiding ASEAN, lest that offend Vietnam.

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Pakistani elections set for Oct. 18

Ousted Prime Minister Bhutto: 'Maybe I'll run, maybe I won't'

By Qutubuddin Aziz
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Karachi, Pakistan

The decks have been cleared for Pakistanis to go to the polls for the second time this year, now that the two main rivals have decided to contest the elections.

Scheduled for Oct. 18 by the military regime that ousted Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto last month, the elections are designed to fill 200 seats in the lower house of Parliament and 400 seats in the four provincial assemblies.

Mr. Bhutto renounced Aug. 4 that he and his People's Party (PPP) decided to participate after a two-day conference here in Karachi. But the former prime minister implied he might change his decision if allegations persisted about misuse of power during his previous 5½ years in office.

In a statement, the PPP said it chose to take part in the elections in the larger interests of the country and because it feels that it alone is capable of saving the Pakistani federal system from collapse.

Political observers have been saying that if the PPP had boycotted the elections, as was predicted in some circles, it could have meant a confrontation with the military regime. The latter has threatened severe penalties for anyone who interferes with the electoral process.

Although Mr. Bhutto's aides contend the PPP will win the election, now 10 weeks away, analysts are inclined to think the rival Pakistan National Alliance (PNA) will win in the Punjab, Baluchistan, and North West Frontier provinces and in the city of Karachi, the country's biggest city.

The PNA, Mr. Bhutto's bitter opponent and loser in an unexpected landslide when the first elections were held in March, already had announced it would participate in the new ones.

The analysts think Mr. Bhutto may fare better in his home province, Sind, where he was returned to Parliament without opposition last time. However, he may face a strong contender in the P.F. of Pagar, the religio-political leader of more than a million Hurriyatmen and onetime acting president of the PNA.

The PNA is due to meet this week to pick its candidates

and review its campaign platform. Nomination papers began being filed Aug. 6.

The PNA is due to meet this week to pick its candidates and review its campaign platform. Nomination papers began being filed Aug. 6.

PNA secretary-general Ghafoor Ahmed has pledged full press freedom and the scrapping of the government-controlled newspaper conglomerate National Press Trust if his party is victorious.

In the meantime, Army chief Zia al-Haq, leader of the coup that toppled Mr. Bhutto's government, told his troops in a meeting Aug. 3 in Peshwar that he is determined that the October elections will be peaceful and impartial and that power be transferred to the winning party as soon as the results of the voting are known.

In another development, an alliance of seven left-wing parties calling itself the People's Democratic Alliance has announced it will compete as an alternative to the PPP and PNA, plucking among other things to withdraw Pakistan from the Central Treaty Organization and to ignore all the country's foreign debts.

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* America's one-two space punch

"Taking into account an 18-month stretch-out in the schedule mandated by Congress and inflation, we are within 5 percent of our original estimate," claims shuttle manager Robert Thompson. But because annual inflation is running from 7 to 10 percent, he says, shuttles to be built in the 1980s may cost \$650 million each instead of \$330 million in 1977 currency.

Although inflation continues to increase pressures on the program budget, the cost of the shuttle program still compares favorably with the cost of conventional launch vehicles. For some 600 flights anticipated between 1980 and 1991, the price tag for the shuttle is estimated at \$31.6 billion, compared with \$46.3 billion with one-flight-only rockets.

Though one third of the proposed shuttle missions would be flown for the Department of Defense, their requirements have added some 10 percent to the cost of building the craft.

Because NASA is determined to achieve low-cost space flight with its fleet of five shuttles, the agency is paring costs in many ways.

NASA is running a series of shuttle simulation missions to find out how management procedures can be streamlined. "We feel the mission can be run with significantly fewer people," says Carr Neel of NASA's Ames Research Center in California who participated in the most recent simulation. Mr. Neel and his colleagues also think the mountains of paper that were characteristic of the Apollo flights can be slunk by 90 percent.

Also, the number of ground support people

who will be needed at Kennedy Space Center for a shuttle launch is 50. Some 300 people were used during Apollo launches.

Although many NASA officials are working hard to make shuttle missions as much like routine airline trips as possible, it will be several years before the results of their efforts become clear.

The missions NASA planners would like to fly with the shuttle include high-volume global communications satellites, disaster warning satellites, more sophisticated weather eyes in the sky, earth resources observatories, and space manufacturing efforts.

A renaissance of lunar exploration — with unmanned rovers dropping floating balloons into the clouds of Venus, the returning of soil from Mars, a flyby of Halley's comet on its next visit, and a rendezvous with some asteroids (with some prospecting in mind) — are a few of the planetary missions which the shuttle could carry. Solar observatories and optical and radio telescopes also are among the scientific equipment which the shuttle could fit into its capacious cargo bay.

Present tests of the shuttle involve only the brief portion of the mission when it acts as a glider, swooping from outer space to an unpowered landing with the aid of five onboard computers.

The shuttle's flight characteristics, based on simulator experience, have been described as a cross between a surfboard and a rock. But Deke Slayton, head of the astronaut office, thinks it will be easy enough to fly.

* Southern Africa

to divorce what happens in these two territories from the tensions and uncertainties in South Africa itself.

Henry Kissinger, during his last year as U.S. secretary of state, secured the cooperation of South African Prime Minister John Vorster in a search for independence for both Rhodesia and Namibia under black government likely to win international recognition. But Mr. Vorster clearly understood that in return for his cooperation, the United States would not put pressure on him or his cabinet to institute early constitutional change in favor of blacks in South Africa itself.

The arrival of the new Carter administration in Washington, with a new line on southern Africa — more particularly on South Africa — has roused in Mr. Vorster all the bitterness, doubt, and suspicion that can overwhelm a man who believes he is the victim of a broken bargain. These feelings were apparent in interviews this writer has had in the past 10 days with Mr. Vorster and two of his cabinet ministers.

The depth of Mr. Vorster's feeling came even more strikingly to the surface — and in public — in a speech the Prime Minister delivered in Pretoria Aug. 6. The result of American pressure, he said, "would be exactly the same as if [southern Africa] were subverted by Marxism."

After some further pointed remarks on President Carter's Africa policy — including a reference to the influence on it (as Mr. Vorster sees it) of the black vote in last year's presidential election — the Prime Minister said: "Do not make it impossible for South Africa to play its role in the free world."

Implicit in those words were the South African Government's longing for the West's closer identification of its interests with those of white South Africa and its reluctance to help the white-minority governments in Rhodesia and Namibia if those governments are simply the prelude to turning the heat on South Africa itself.

In both Rhodesia and Namibia guerrilla forces are operating and demanding a dominant role, if not an exclusive monopoly, in the transfer of political power to blacks. In Rhodesia it is the Patriotic Front of Joshua Nkomo, and Robert Mugabe, in Namibia the South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), of Sam Nujoma. In Rhodesia, the guerrillas have been stepping up their campaign presumably to make a point to the three foreign ministers meeting in London.

In Rhodesia, while Prime Minister Ian Smith would resist to the last any handing of the country to the Patriotic Front "on a plate," in Namibia, which has been run by South Africa since the end of World War I, Prime Minister Vorster can be expected equally to resist a

straightforward handover to SWAPO.

But in their respective territories, both the Patriotic Front and SWAPO are likely to be reluctant to agree to completely free elections on a one-man, one-vote basis, including the African populations, because neither can be completely sure it would win.

To lose would mean, for either, forfeiting the considerable advantage each enjoys as the endorsed candidate of the Organization of African Unity, and, in the case of SWAPO, of the United Nations. To avoid such humiliation, each might argue that the present security arrangements — the South African Army in Namibia and the white-controlled security forces in Rhodesia — make free elections impossible and then announce that any proposed elections will be boycotted.

Both Mr. Vorster and even more, Mr. Smith, view with concern the British-U.S. contacts with the guerrilla organizations. The Western powers were talking last week with SWAPO leader Nujoma at United Nations headquarters in New York. Joshua Nkomo was received by British Prime Minister James Callaghan in London in the latter part of July. Mr. Nkomo has since been visiting Cuba and English-speaking countries in the Caribbean. And there is some speculation that he might get red carpet treatment in Washington before he returns to his side of the Atlantic.

Both Britain and Washington are concerned to keep their lines out to the guerrillas, initially to try to involve them in negotiated settlements in both Rhodesia and Namibia, but if that fails, to ensure that the guerrillas are left with a place to turn to besides the Soviet Union.

In Rhodesia, Prime Minister Smith is completely unresponsive to this line of thinking and is intent on trying to work out a settlement with black moderates which excludes the Patriotic Front — in his eyes a Communist terrorist organization. To achieve this, he needs the cooperation of Bishop Abel Muzorewa, who enjoys considerable support among Africans inside Rhodesia and has traveled to London to be there during the foreign ministers' meeting. "It is doubtful whether Mr. Smith would offer terms the bishop could accept without sacrificing his African following, but clearly the bishop does not want to be overlooked during the foreign ministers' deliberations."

Whatever the United States and British Governments might propose for Namibia and Rhodesia, they will need the cooperation — or at least the acquiescence — of South Africa for any hope of its successful implementation.

South Africa, in turn — and for all its current plagues — needs continued association with the United States and Britain if its isolation is not to be sharpened. The challenge is to fit all the pieces together.

* 12 year space trip

Besides the planets themselves, the Voyagers are to survey five of Jupiter's moons and seven of Saturn's. Each of these moons is large enough — rivaling Mercury or our own moon in size — to qualify as major solar system bodies in their own right.

If Voyager 1 successfully completes its scheduled survey of these planets and moons, and if Voyager 2 remains in good operating condition as it approaches Saturn, it will be redirected to go on to Uranus and perhaps to Neptune. The entire mission, from Earth to Neptune, could last through 1989.

To Mission Director John Casani, this presents a two-fold challenge. The navigation of both 815-kilogram (1,793-pound) spacecraft must be highly precise over vast distances. And the team that learns to manage this difficult assignment must be kept together for over a decade, during which there will be long periods of relative inactivity.

Mr. Casani says he hopes that team members can be reassigned to other projects during

* Vance peace mission

talks, if the PLO accepted UN Security Council Resolution 242, which in effect calls for recognition of the state of Israel.

Israeli officials said they would "regret very much" PLO involvement in such talks, but the Israelis did not categorically reject the idea.

The talks could amount to "proximity" talks, such as Dr. Ralph Bunche carried out among the Middle East parties on behalf of the United Nations on the island of Rhodes in 1948. But Mr. Vance declined to go so far as to call the projected talks by that name, apparently because the Israelis last month proposed "proximity" talks.

The Arabs, in the American view, would not want to be put into the position of accepting an Israeli proposal. The main point is that the talks might offer a way around Israeli objections to a PLO presence at a full-scale peace conference.

Aside from what he could say concerning possible indirect talks among the parties in the United States next month, Mr. Vance painted an exceedingly bleak picture. The "fundamental differences are still there," he said.

The parties to the conflict remain divided, according to the secretary, on all the key issues — both procedural and "substantive." He declined to offer any details on points where he seemed to have "narrowed" the gap between the Arabs and Israelis.

One of the secretary's main achievements during his six-month 11-day trip appeared to have been to have forced the parties to come up with more detailed positions on all the issues than they have offered in the past.

But Mr. Vance ran into a stonewall with the Israelis on a wide range of issues, leaving the impression that U.S. ideas on a settlement now are closer in many respects to those of the

Arabs than those of the Israelis.

Despite Mr. Vance's reaffirmation of American support for Israel's defense needs, made in statements during his visit to Israel, Israel now appears to be in danger of becoming isolated — diplomatically and psychologically — unless it shows greater flexibility on the issue of territorial withdrawal and Palestinian "rights."

Much may depend on moves made over the next few weeks by the PLO. Monitor correspondent John K. Cooley reports from Athens:

As Secretary Vance continued his talks in Israel, the Palestine Liberation Organization leadership was trying to define the conditions for Palestinian participation — or nonparticipation — in a Middle East peace settlement.

PLO political department chief Faruk Khaddoumi said in Nicosia, Cyprus the PLO would welcome revision of UN Security Council Resolution 242 in order to make it mention "Palestinian national rights" instead of "Palestinian refugees," a move now being promoted by Saudi Arabia, France, and some other powers. But, he said, the PLO could not recognize Israel's right to exist "because Mr. Begin is saying the Jordan West Bank and Gaza Strip are part of Israel."

The radical Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), the strongest group in the "Rejection Front" which opposes the PLO leadership and is backed by Libya and Iraq, said in Beirut it would oppose even a revised Resolution 242 because the resolution would still state that Israel should have secure borders and that the state of war should be ended.

The Rejection Front and its Arab supporters have said the "Front's guerrilla organizations would quit the PLO if the PLO attends a peace conference."

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The Rejection Front and its Arab supporters have said the "Front's guerrilla organizations would quit the PLO if the PLO attends a peace conference."

* 'Great Rift Valley' issues

organized under the label of the Palestine Liberation Organization, known as the PLO. The PLO, when tested, pulled sharply back from the idea of recognizing the legitimacy of the state of Israel.

The mere fact that on his way home Mr. Vance was scheduled to talk to the British about southern Africa was in itself a form of pressure on the whites of Rhodesia to come faster along the road to accommodation with the black community. No major direct Anglo-American pressure is expected. It is supposed to be enough for London and Washington to keep in line with each other on the proposition that the only hope for the Rhodesian whites lies down the road of commitment to black majority rule.

The American and Soviet roles in northeast Africa continue to be in low key. Moscow clings to its difficult sponsor relationship to both Ethiopia and Somalia while the two are fighting a vigorous war with each other. Washington watches from a discreet distance after having made known its readiness to help Somalia.

Perhaps the most important fact about all this is that there is nothing else going on in the world making news comparable to what comes from these three areas in the accidental north-

Solzhenitsyn return to Russia?

Northfield, Vermont
Exiled Russian author Alexander Solzhenitsyn hopes to return to the Soviet Union from his Cavendish, Vermont home in 9 or 10 years, his wife, Natalia, says.

Mrs. Solzhenitsyn told a group of Russian-language students at Norwich University recently that the Nobel Prize-winning writer had found a "provisional" home in Vermont until the time is right for a return to his Russian homeland.

About one year ago, the Solzhenitsyns and their four children moved from Switzerland to Cavendish, where they live in a secluded home on about 50 acres of land.

Since then Mr. Solzhenitsyn has been working on what his wife described in Russian as a "rigid" schedule. She said her husband is completely absorbed by creative literary tasks, beginning his writing each day at 7 a.m. and working until 11, when he takes a one-hour break. Then he goes back to his writing from 1 to 5 p.m., she said.

She said his evenings are consumed by reading, except for time spent with the family, adding that he goes without holidays to complete his work.

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Amazon Indians vs. civil

Western civilization is moving closer to the remaining 180,000 Indians living in the jungles bordering the mighty Amazon River. Will it mean the unraveling of the aboriginal societies of these ancient peoples and the loss of their culture and self-sufficiency? Two Monitor reporters, who visited one of the tribes, discussed the problem with Brazilian officials and anthropologists.

By Clayton Jonea and Ward Morehouse III
Staff correspondents of
The Christian Science Monitor

Manaus, Brazil
It is the end of the day for Banja, an Amazon shaman whose small jungle tribe huddles within a brown thicket waiting to watch an Indian dance passed down over centuries.

The fire casts flickering shadows on Banja's crown of green feathers and his red-painted body. He begins to chant in low grunts and stomps the earth. Staccato rhythm from a turtle-shell drum echoes into the black Amazon night. Banja leaps and crouches, imitating the grace of a jaguar which he hunts.

"He says the jungle either accepts you or rejects you," whispers our guide, Willy, himself an outsider accepted by the Indians.

The lonely village of Banja's tribe, called Tukano, sits in the rain forest on the equator near the Brazil-Colombia border. To reach Western man's nearest outpost — if they wanted to — these peaceful, primitive people would have to paddle three weeks in dugout canoes on the Amazon tributaries.

This night, however, Western civilization moves closer to their jungle life as a new note joins Banja's Stone Age music.

In a darkened corner on the other side of the communal hut, a Tukano boy switches on a transistor radio left by an earlier visitor.

Then, while the tribe listens with one ear to their chief's ancient jungle chant, they listen with the other to the crackling, long-distance broadcast of an American football game from Cincinnati.

180,000 Indians remain

This surreal scene of a tribe discovered only eight years ago has symbolic overtones for the endangered culture of the remaining 180,000 Indians who are spread over the six countries that touch the waters of the mighty Amazon.

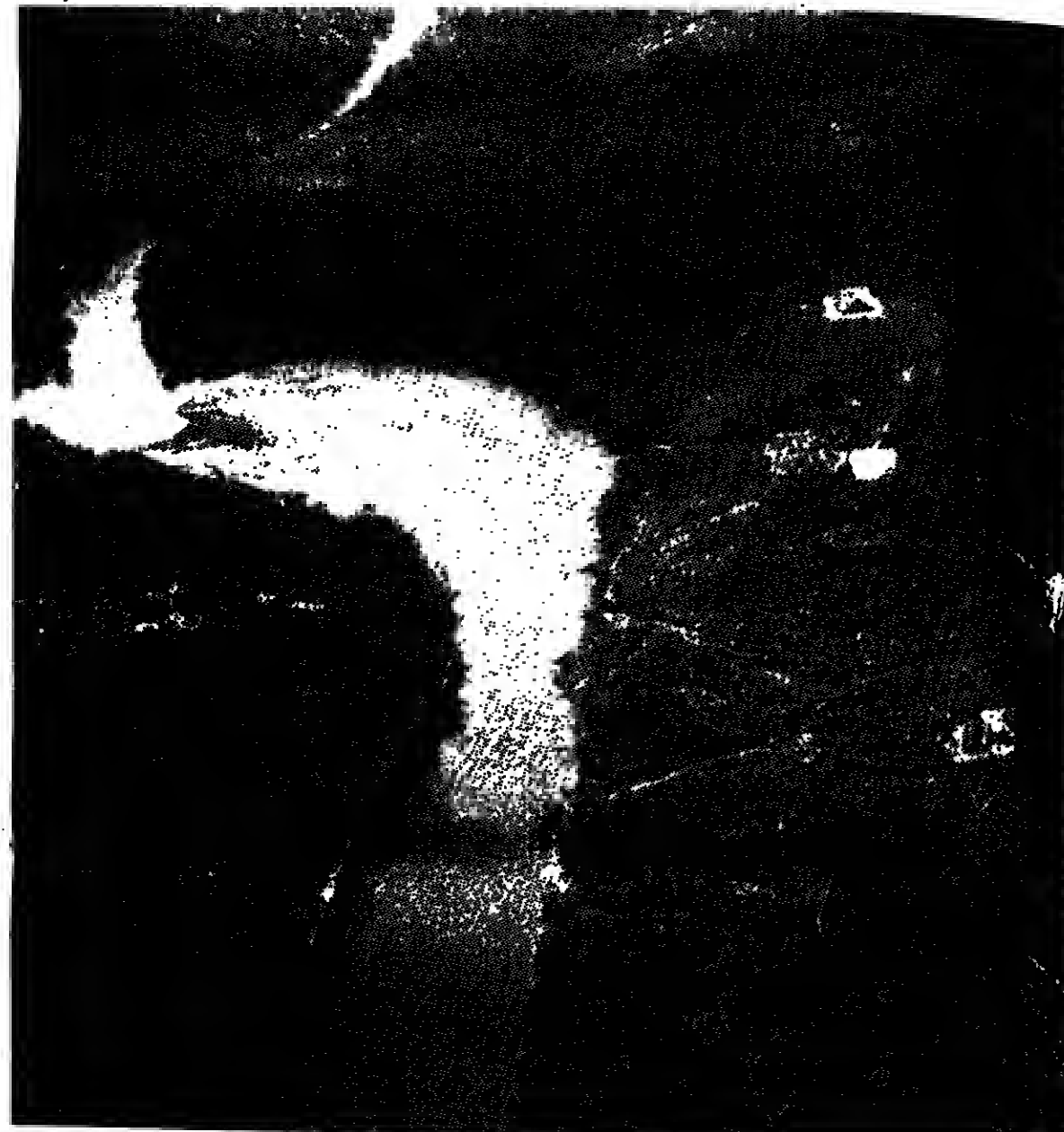
Far-reaching radio is just one of the cultural attractions — and shocks — that are unraveling the Amazon's fragile aboriginal societies.

"America's Indians are an example of what will happen to Brazil's Indians — living on reservations, in poverty," says Alaida Rila Ramos, an anthropologist at the University of Brasilia.

But unlike the slow taming of the U.S. frontier with horses and trains, Brazil's military-run government pushes for development with planes and tractors, calling for quick "integration" and "acculturation" of its majority share of the Amazon basin Indians. Since 1967, roads such as the coast-in-coast Transamazônica highway have been built across the endless, sodden jungle, helping to relocate millions of poor peasants from the dry northeast section of Brazil to the Amazon basin. The roads have also opened up the region to prospectors for gold, iron, uranium and diamonds.

Sweeping ahead of civilization's road gangs and miners through the long-hidden lands are the government's agents ("serenistas") from the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI). They, along with 34 types of religious missions, make the first delicate approach to the estimated 50,000 Indians not yet contacted by Western man. (Gifts are left on a platform near a tribe and, if the Indians leave their own gifts, then a friendly approach is made.)

FUNAI's official task of protecting the Indians, who make up less than 1 percent of Brazil's population, often conflicts with Brazil's dream of becoming a world econ-



Banja's village on tributary of upper Amazon. Monitor reporters reached village after hike through

omic giant. But like a father guiding his children, FUNAI's director, Gen. Ismarth da Araujo Oliveira says, "The greatest dream for Indians is to integrate in the nation in the conditions that give them pride to say 'I am an Indian' and compete with Brazilians." He warns: "In 50 years, the Indians will not be known as we know them today."

Debate within Brazil focuses on the pace of Indian integration. With the aid of leading anthropologists, FUNAI has restricted missionary inroads and is helping the Indians market their crafts. Boundaries of a couple dozen reserves are being marked out in an attempt to retain the Indians' hunting grounds and aboriginal rights to land. The resulting protective enclaves often are referred to as "human zoos" by critics.

Missionaries impact debated

Missionaries, who believe they equip Indians with the spiritual buffer needed for the advance of "civilization" and assist them in their desire to read and write, are accused of breaking the kinship patterns of Amazon tribes. Missionary outposts unwillingly act as instruments for the penetration of economic interests, argues Brazilian anthropologist Roberto Cardoso.

Indians have their own religion, says General Ismarth. "To force another religion is to bring disharmony in a tribe."

Even mild acculturation into Old World ways can end a tribe's natural self-sufficiency, forcing it into a cash econ-

omy and into a rootless dependency in city ghettos. "They have a communal life much like the primitive Christians — pure socialism," explains Warwick Kerr, director of Brazil's Amazon research institute in Manaus. "The Indians are emperor of the forest and yet have become the poorest in our society."

Dr. Kerr insists Indians should be paid the highest wages for the "professional" work they can do and be integrated into the highest levels of society.

As an example, Dr. Kerr is guiding an experiment in which Sinta-Larga ("wide belt") Indians from the Arapuaçu River teach local students arrow-making and other precision skills developed during centuries of living in harmony with the jungle.

But Brazil's noted spokesman for the Indians, Claudio Orlando Villas Boas, who championed the designation of the 11,000-square-mile Xingu National Park to protect 14 tribes, says any attempt to integrate Indians is the same as introducing a plan for their destruction. "We are not yet sufficiently prepared," he says.

Several dozen anthropologists, fearing imminent loss of age-old jungle wisdom, are recording the Indians' simple life and complex philosophies at posts scattered through the region's 150 aboriginal language groups.

Major developers of the Amazon, who clear out swaths of tall, dripping forests, are beginning to learn the hard way that the Indians' practice of cutting only a few

TAIWAN ECONOMIC MINI-TIGER

By David R. Francis
Business and financial editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Taiwan has a "gee-whiz" economy. It has made such progress that it astonishes and delights economists studying the development of the world's poorer countries. For instance:

Gee Whiz 1 — The Republic of China's total output of goods and services has grown at a real 9 percent rate over the past decade, despite a pause in 1974-75 as a result of the worldwide recession. That is far faster than the United States or Western Europe grew during their formative years.

Per capita income this year for the country's 16.5 million inhabitants should be about \$970. It was about \$244 a decade ago.

Gee Whiz 2 — Taiwan has spread the new prosperity to most of its people. Through land reform and other measures, the island nation has a good distribution of income — far better than most developing countries.

Gee Whiz 3 — Total trade has grown from \$1.4 billion in 1967 to \$15.7 billion last year. That's a 30.8 percent annual growth rate.

Those are the sort of statistics which reflect an exciting economic and business story — a tale told in this 16-page special section on Taiwan by two special writers for the Monitor, Neal A. Martin and David Tharp. Among the articles inside are:

Foreign bankers glad to lend Taiwan money — P. 4;

Salas of color TV and other electronic goods soar — P. 16.



Modern Taiwan is alive, well, and bustling

Chinese traditional blends with unconventional and cosmopolitan to create a dynamic mixture

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Modern Taiwan is manifestly alive and well. There is bustling activity everywhere. Shops are crisscrossed with consumer goods, and the city streets are jammed with shops.

The legendary Chinese gusto for good food can be satiated by a bewildering variety of restaurants offering the specialties of all the provinces of China. Japanese sushi is served up in Taipei as easily as a thick Western-style steak. The diversity of the people is astounding. Mobs, monks, mini-skirted girls, and matrons are as ubiquitous as conservatively dressed bankers, T-shirted laborers, and uniformed high school students.

In a way, Taiwan has a conservative, traditional society weighted with Chinese customs. But it is also dynamically striving to mesh this tradition with its unconventional, progressive attitudes. The result is an agricultural-industrial, Asian-Western, uniquely emerging identity.

The government and business pride themselves on the booming economy.

A traditional symbol of success is Wu Yau-tien, a Kaohsiung millionaire. He worked his way up from being a laborer on a road construction gang to own one of the largest, most modern department stores in Taiwan.

However, there are non-Marxist young intellectuals in Taiwan just as in the West who question the intensive pursuit of money that is widespread among this island's eager capitalists.

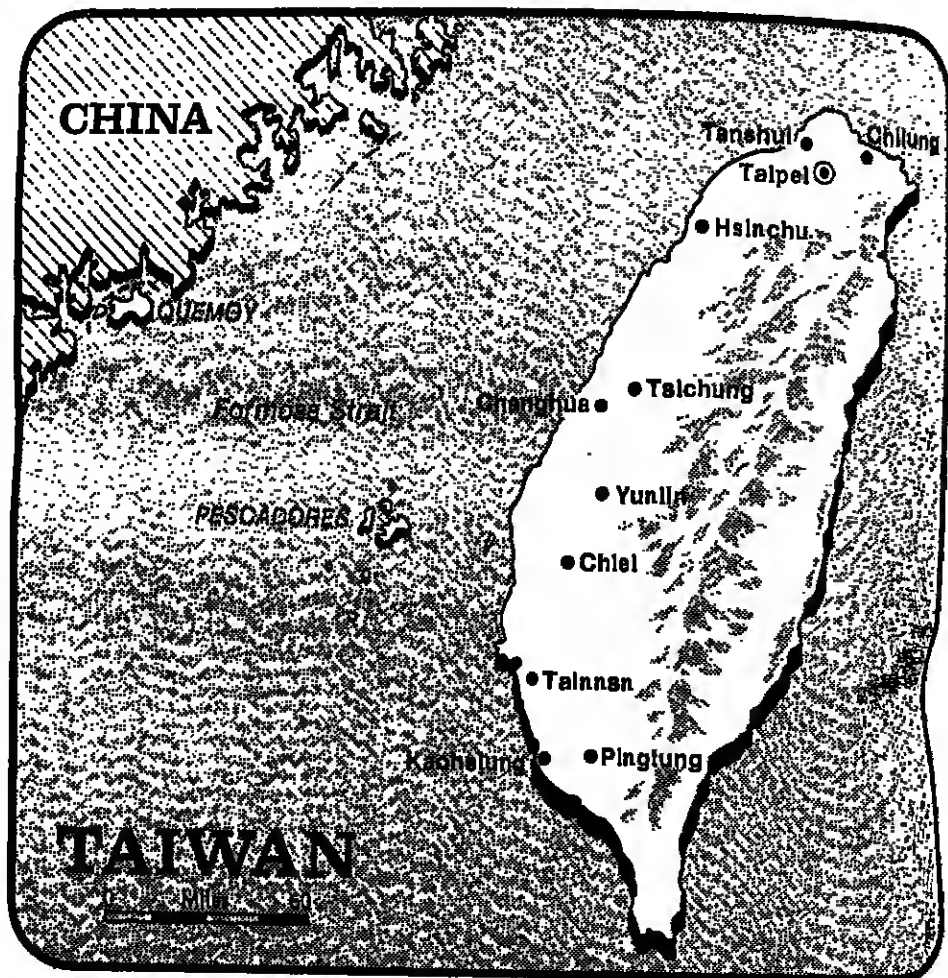
Thinking the unthinkable

There is also a newly emerging small group of liberals who openly suggest dialogue with Peking to arrive at a modus operandi for peaceful co-existence. This notion was unthinkable in the past; and not a line of thought which enjoys much popular support today. But at least it can be discussed more freely nowadays, a sign that even the Kuomintang — the governing party — is changing with the times.

Yet, for many people in Taiwan, the reasons given by a Chinese communist MIG-19 jet pilot for his defection to Taiwan on July 7 support the Kuomintang's stand that the Republic of China offers a viable alternative to the system on the mainland.

Despite mainland charges that foreign firms established in export processing zones "exploit" Taiwan's cheap labor to make "super profits," it is also undeniable that foreign investment on the island has been partly responsible for raising the standard of living to a position second only to Japan in Asia.

Further, the benefits of economic growth spread throughout the Taiwanese population. This has been attested to by independent foreign research surveys, such as in the Oxford University publication "Redistribution With Growth."



design research surveys, such as in the Oxford University publication "Redistribution With Growth."

But this is not to say that poor people do not exist in Taiwan. They do, and there are dirty

back alleys to be found behind fashionable streets where shops sell European luxury items at high prices.

The government appears committed to eliminating the inequalities which still exist in Taiwan's society. Premier Chiang Ching-kuo often takes to the provinces to meet the common man in the fields, in the factories, and sometimes in the prisons. He spent part of his Chinese New Year recently talking with inmates of a prison near Taipei.

Construction projects

Some observers of the Taiwan situation say the 10 major government-promoted construction projects — (1) the north-south highway, (2) railway electrification, (3) the north link railway, (4) the Taoyuan airport, (5) Taichung harbor, (6) Suao harbor, (7) the integrated steel mill, (8) the petrochemicals development program, (9) the Kaohsiung shipyard, and (10) the nuclear power plants — are partly meant to take the nation's minds off the unpleasant prospect of the U.S. breaking relations with Taipei in the near future.

True or not, the people will unquestionably benefit from the improved infrastructure. It will further boost their quality of life.

Industrially, the 10 projects will prepare the country to move into a technology-oriented, capital-intensive phase of development suitable for competing in world markets with the giants — Japan, the U.S., and Western Europe.

Mainland China has been sending its urban young into the fields to increase agricultural production. Taiwan's youth are leaving the fields for the cities and crop production in massive numbers.

To identify Taiwan with old clichés and stereotypes of either the political or social variety does the people an injustice. The country has moved from being a remote island colony covered in the world which invites respect for its economic accomplishments.

What's inside

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- Life of a shipyard worker 16
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Two-way trade running at better than \$4 billion

American salesmen are red-carpet visitors

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Since President Nixon's Peking trip in 1972, trade between Taiwan and the United States has increased significantly. In 1972 two-way trade totaled \$1.7 billion, compared with \$4.6 billion in 1976. It stood at \$2.27 billion in the first five months of this year.

The U.S. ranks first in the Republic of China's export markets, taking almost 40 percent of the island's total exports, while Taiwan was 12th among U.S. trading partners last year.

"The U.S. provided the tools to develop and, sure, we have made money in the process. But Taiwan is a great example of how a free people can succeed," says Martinus Van Hise, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Taiwan.

"American businessmen have been part and parcel of their prowessworthy development," he added.

The feelings are mutual. Throughout Taiwan Americans are warmly welcomed. "It's kind of embarrassing at times," laughed an American businessman who has been here eight years, "but one thing is for sure, we don't have many friends like these people."

Aid flow slanted

During the 1950s Taiwan received big injections of U.S. aid, plus capital and raw materials to develop basic industries.

Aid stopped in 1965 as the U.S. became an important market for products of Taiwan's labor-intensive industries.

Dr. Sun Chen, vice-chairman of the Economic Planning Council, says Sino-U.S. trade has played an important role in the island's development.

"As this country is now carrying out the six-year economic development plan, many sophisticated U.S. capital goods as well as technology, are urgently needed," he said in an interview.

American economists predicted that 1977 would provide healthy sales in Taiwan for U.S. exports, especially in view of a desire by the government to increase buying from the U.S. to offset a large trade imbalance.

Last year Taiwan had a \$1.4 billion surplus. In response, the government has instructed that government procurement be limited to North American and European, in some cases from U.S. suppliers only.

Sales via wide

American firms could sell equipment for building and construction, hotels, and restaurants, auto servicing, food processing and packaging, laboratories, processing and quality control, pollution control, and data processing and data communications, metalworking, the electronics industry, plus machine tools, marine supplies, and many other categories.

Trade between the U.S. and Taiwan expanded in the first five months of 1977, while Taiwan's overall foreign trade appeared likely to fall short of its \$18.5 billion aim for the year unless a vigorous rebound takes place in the second half.

Two-way trade for the January-May period, amounting to \$2.27 billion, increased 26.7 per-

cent over the same period last year. Of this total, exports to the U.S. accounted for \$1.25 billion — 37.3 percent of Taiwan's foreign exports.

Imports from the U.S. stood at \$1.02 billion, about 31 percent of Taiwan's total imports during the period. This was an increase for the U.S. of 47.5 percent over the same period last year.

Taiwan ran a surplus of \$226 million, a decrease of \$180 million from the same period in 1976, reflecting the government's efforts to narrow the trade balance.

Japan was Taiwan's second-largest trading partner after the U.S. in the January-May period, taking 12.3 percent, or \$412.9 million, of its exports.

Target falling short

However, the government reported a shortfall of about \$1.04 billion from its world trade target for January-May.

This was blamed in part on the rising tide of protectionism in the U.S. Shipments of major export items such as textiles, nonrubber footwear, and canned goods were said to be affected by import restrictions already in effect or pending.

There are also fears that protectionism in the U.S. could affect TV sets, leather garments, bicycles, handbags, and cookware.

The trade performance has also much to do with slim corporation profits. Razor-thin profits took a heavy toll on capital goods imports, as many deficit-ridden firms curbed capital spending.

"I don't believe the U.S. will go protectionist in the foreseeable future," predicted Y. T.

Wong, director general of the Board of Foreign Trade. "I think the Carter administration has a sincere intention to keep the U.S. market free as it is."

"If the U.S. became really protectionist in its trade policies, the result would be so far-reaching that it would change the whole political structure of the world," he added.

Anti-boycott law hailed

Despite concern over American restrictions, relief surged through Taipei when President Carter signed the anti-boycott law June 21.

The law prohibits U.S. firms from abiding by boycotts imposed on them by foreign countries. Although the law stems from problems of American companies doing business in the Middle East, it will also apply to cases involving Communist China.

"It has been reported that the Chinese Communists have a blacklist covering all those American firms that have good trade and investment relations with us," reported the Taipei Chinese-language Central Daily News. But with the anti-boycott law in force, it said, American firms would not bow to Peking pressure to cut off trade with Taiwan.

Not that it has much to worry about. The 1976 trade between the U.S. and Peking was a modest \$300 million, the U.S.-Taiwan turnover was \$4.8 billion.

As if this were not enough, the Taiwan-U.S.A. Economic Council in June promised to help U.S. investors make more capital and technological outlays in Taiwan.

American investments here are already big (\$491 million) and far ahead of Japan (\$246 million), the second-largest investing nation.

Taiwan's Premier calls defense treaty vital

By Neil A. Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Abrogation of the mutual defense treaty between the United States and the Republic of China (ROC) would imperil more than the security of Taiwan, according to Premier Chiang Ching-kuo.

It would also seriously jeopardize the stability and prosperity of the United States and other nations of the western Pacific, Mr. Chiang stated.

Mr. Chiang, elder son of the late Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek, was appointed Premier in 1972. He was elected chairman of the central committee of the ruling Kuomintang on April 28, 1975, about three weeks after his father's passing.

Premier Chiang has sought to bring the government closer to the people. He likes to make unannounced visits to sports events, construction sites, homes for the aged, and so on to chat with people and shake their hands.

The Chinese leader, in reply to written questions, also dealt with Taiwan's business future as diplomatic recognition of mainland China spreads.

Do you anticipate any change in U.S. policy or attitudes toward the ROC under the new administration?

The relations between the Republic of China and the United States are traditionally close and friendly. I am convinced that the continuing cooperation and mutual trust of the two countries is imperative in safeguarding Asian-Pacific security and ensuring world peace. As the leader of the free world, the United States should be fully aware that no matter what steps the Chinese Communists take to cover up their intentions, they will never change their basic nature of aggressiveness.

Does President Carter's warning about violations of "human rights" in other



Premier Chiang Ching-kuo

countries pose any special problems or concerns in your country?

I wholeheartedly approve of President Carter's efforts to emphasize morality and human rights in international affairs. The Republic of China is a democratic country based on constitutional rule and has always respected human rights. We are deeply concerned about the inhuman life of our 800 million compatriots enslaved under Communist tyranny. They have no freedom, no rights, no voice.

Can the ROC survive without the protection of the U.S.-ROC security pact?

The U.S.-ROC Mutual Defense Treaty is a link in the western Pacific collective security system of the United States. If the treaty did not exist, much more than the security of the Republic of China would be imperiled. The stability and prosperity of the United States, the other free nations of the western Pacific, and the whole of the Asian-Pacific region also would be seriously jeopardized.

Does the continued diplomatic recognition of Red China by other world governments pose any special economic hardships for the ROC?

The Republic of China is prepared to maintain good diplomatic relations with all free and democratic countries. I wonder what benefits have accrued to those governments recognizing the Chinese regime. As a matter of fact, many of the countries which have recognized the Chinese Communists are wary of them. Ironically, they are often more friendly to us than to the Chinese Communists. As to whether there have been any economic effects, our highly developed economy should be a sufficient answer.

Will international investors in the future become more and more hesitant to invest in Taiwan for fear of jeopardizing future business possibilities in mainland China?

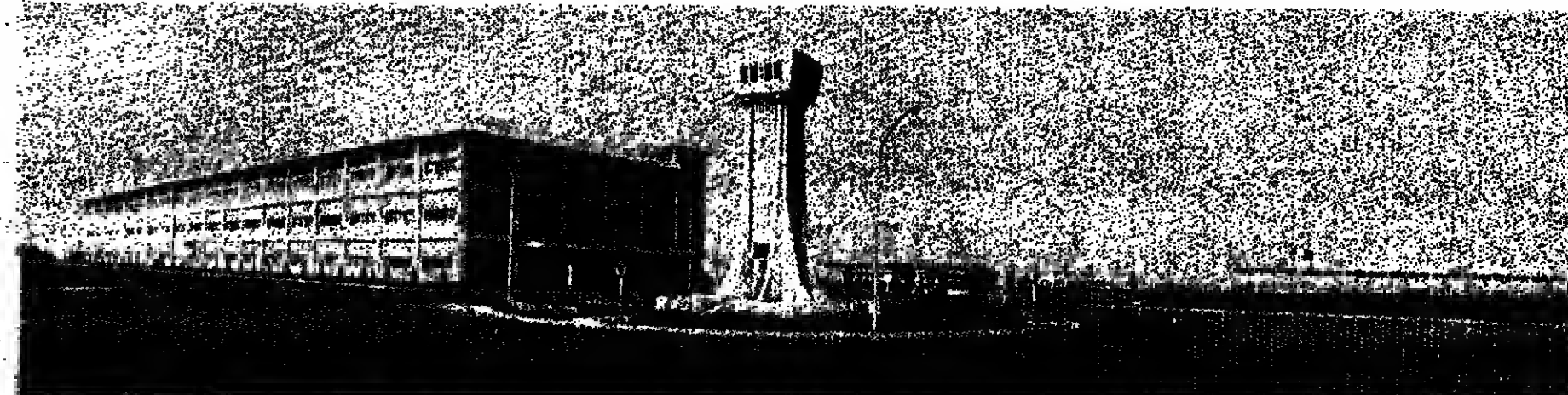
Most of the international investors are from strong industrial countries. Considering Taiwan's social stability and good investment climate, there is no need for them to worry about the Chinese Communists and hesitate to invest in Taiwan.

Do you feel the ROC is strong enough to weather future economic recessions and changes in world-trade trends and patterns?

In the last two or three years, the Republic of China has been coping with economic recessions. We have reduced to the minimum the damages inflicted on our economy by the world economic cycle. We are working hard to improve our fiscal and tax structure and to strengthen the other fields of our economic system.

We are confident that we have become more competent to cope with any future economic recessions. We also have anticipated the continuing changes in the trends and patterns of international trade. Our government and people are striving to adjust our industrial structure and to perfect and develop our trade organizations.

TAIWAN IS THE PLACE FOR INVESTORS



A corner of the Nantao Export Processing Zone, one of the three export processing zones in Taiwan.

Investment climate in Taiwan, an island province of the Republic of China, remains highly favorable. There are now 269 American investors in the country with a total capital exceeding US\$500 million.

These smart, far-sighted businesspersons have been reaping large profits and enjoying, among other things, a skilled, well educated labor force at reasonable wages, and government incentives for many industries. Taiwan has three export processing zones to facilitate investments in

Industrial production for export. Enterprises in these zones are eligible not only to the benefits of ready-built factory buildings and plant sites, well-developed infrastructure, but also to special privileges of importing duty-free machinery and equipment, raw materials and semi-finished products.

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Taiwan sights are drawing more tourists

Government goals include improving aquatic areas in the

"On the contrary, in Taiwan we welcome visitors from over the world whether we have formal diplomatic relations with their government or not."

These bankers should know what they are talking about. At last glance, the exposure of U.S. banks (including the U.S. Export-Import Bank), was more than \$2 billion. Next to Brazil, Taiwan is the Ex-Im Bank's biggest customer with loans and guarantees outstanding.

Naturally, such a conservative approach appeals to bankers. In a recent economic survey of Asia and the Oceania area, Chase Manhattan's research department rates Taiwan's consumer prices as being among the most stable in the region in 1975-76: Prices increased by an average of only 2 percent during the 12-month period surveyed, compared with 9 percent in Korea, and Japan, and 7 percent in Hong Kong and the Philippines.

Control Board. The board is expected to keep oil prices tight on wholesale and retail price increases this year. And in connection with the latter, the government has warned business and industry against using oil price increases last year as the oil exporting nations as justification for "unwarranted" domestic price increases.

"We are more than satisfied with our price controls policy," adds Mr. CHI. "It's been effective in the past and we think it will continue to be effective in the future."

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Where Taiwan gets its energy

Nuclear plant on order to supplement imported oil

By David Tharp
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Taiwan's massive industrial leap to developed-nation status is taking place virtually without any domestic energy resources.

Oil is all imported. (One billion dollars worth in 1976.) Nuclear power has been chosen to help diversify energy sources, thus saving an estimated eight million kiloliters of fuel by 1984. In 1982 Taiwan Power Company's total electrical output was 331,000 kilowatts, but by the end of 1984 it will be 11.2 million kilowatts, with nearly 60 percent of that produced by three nuclear power stations.

Near the village of Chinshan on Taiwan's northern coast, the first atomic plant is close to completion. Tests will be carried out at the end of 1977, with full output planned by the beginning of next year. Chinshan will have two 636,000 kilowatt units.

A second plant under construction will go into operation a year later, also in northern Taiwan. This will produce 965,000 kilowatts each from two reactors.

The third plant will be constructed near Kaohsiung in southern Taiwan and will have two reactors capable of producing 950,000 kilowatts each.

Financed by U.S. loans

Taiwan Power's three nuclear plants are being financed with \$1 billion in loans from the U.S. Export-Import Bank. All major equipment — and much of the fuel — will come from the United States.

In 1970, Taiwan ratified the nuclear nonproliferation treaty and agreed to accept nuclear safeguard controls on their nuclear systems. A year later, however, the International Atomic Energy Commission, which administers nuclear arms controls, excluded Taiwan from its membership.

Taiwan denies that it is even remotely considering the possibility of producing nuclear weapons, although their technology is advanced enough to do so.

"Everybody knows they have the potential, but they are also aware of U.S. feelings on the subject," says a diplomat in Taipei.

Also, Taiwan Power has signed contracts for enriched nuclear fuel 30 years in advance with the United States. These fuel supplies could always be cut if arms development were suspected.

U.S. training operators

Taiwan also depends on the U.S. to train its reactor operators and nuclear engineers, who spend carefully supervised apprenticeships at Atomic Energy Commission plants in the states.

Construction has moved carefully and with painstaking thoroughness at Chinshan with Taiwanese and American nuclear engineers working together on the completion of the plant.



By R. Norman Mathew, staff photographer

Chinshan plant — one of three planned

After the plant goes into production, the Americans will stay in the background for six months in case Taiwan Power requests any technical advice. Otherwise, the operation of the plant will be entirely by the Chinese.

Safety precautions for the plant's operation are all according to American specifications.

Asked if there were any anti-nuclear protesters who opposed the plant's construction, a nuclear engineer at Chinshan replied that the local population simply accepted the fact that the plant was necessary for the country's power needs.

Nuclear waste from the plant will be stored in specially built, constantly cooled water pool containers.

Taiwan also has 30 hydroelectric plants with a total capacity of 1.4 million kilowatts.

Nationalist Chinese officials stress the peaceful nature of Taiwan's nuclear research efforts in medicine, agriculture, and industry, in addition to development of the country's nuclear power plants.

Republic of China facts

Area: Just under 14,000 square miles, or about the size of Holland. Taiwan, the major island, is about 100 miles off the coast of southeastern China.

Population: About 16.5 million.

Language: Mandarin Chinese is the official language. English and Japanese are widely spoken.

Capital: Taipei (population 2 million).

Gross national product: \$17.1 billion (1976).

Exports: \$8.1 billion (1976).

Imports: \$7.6 billion (1976).

Trade with U.S.: \$4.9 billion (exports to U.S., \$3.1 billion; imports from U.S., \$1.8 billion — 1976 figures).

People: Chinese except for about 285,000 aborigines.

Religion: Buddhism, Taoism, Christianity, and Islam.

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Demand for petrochemical products is expected to grow continuously. And Taiwan offers an unique opportunity and very good environment for any new joint venture in the promising industry. Inquiries on capital investment in Taiwan's petrochemicals are welcome.



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'Made in Taiwan' often means 'Made by Nan Ya'

By Neil A. Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Few Americans have ever heard of Nan Ya Plastics Corporation. But there is a good chance that they have bought one or more of the company's products in the past.

It may have been a shower curtain for the bathroom, floor tiles for the kitchen, a roll-up window shade for the den. Or it may have been a synthetic leather handbag, wallet, or a pair of shoes. Or it could have been anyone of the countless household or general consumer items, stamped "Made in Taiwan," and sold in retail shops and department stores across the United States.

More often than not, "Made in Taiwan" means "Made by Nan Ya," Taiwan's largest manufacturer and exporter of plastic products. Last year, Nan Ya sold more than \$350 million worth of tableware, umbrellas, toys, rainwear, wall paneling, floor covering, and building supplies plus thousands of yards of vinyl sheeting, synthetic leather, polyester filament, and laxative yarn.

More than 70 percent of the firm's output was exported to the United States.

Sales volume triples

"Our name might not be a household word among Americans," smiles William C. L. Lin, a Nan Ya executive, "but our presence there is very real. The United States is very important to us, and we like to think that we are important to it. Both countries benefit from our trade."

To be sure, Nan Ya benefits from its burgeoning business with the United States. For five consecutive years, the company has been

Plastics company reaches distant lands, mostly U.S., with vast array of computer-controlled products

Taiwan's largest manufacturer in terms of sales volume. From a little more than \$100 million in 1972, Nan Ya's sales volume has tripled over the last five years, reaching \$350 million in 1976, a whopping 118 percent increase over the year before. This year Nan Ya officials predict a 60 percent growth in total sales and a "healthy" increase in earnings.

Coming at a time when much of Taiwan's plastics and textiles industry is still struggling to shake off the deadly chill of sluggish overseas markets and excessive competition, this outlook is remarkable.

"Even during the depths of the 1974 recession," Mr. Lin recalls, "we managed to make a \$10 million net profit and pay our employees a six month's bonus instead of the one month's additional salary usually given to factory workers each year by other companies."

In many ways, Nan Ya's success mirrors that of Taiwan's and the factors that have helped to catapult the plastics manufacturer to the head of its class are not dissimilar from those that have helped to make Taiwan one of the world's most aggressive and most successful salesmen.

Low operations overhead

At the base of Nan Ya's success "pyramid" is a low operations overhead, in terms of both the cost of building and depreciating modern plants and equipment, and wages paid to employees.

Mr. Lin estimates that because construction labor is cheap in Taiwan and because much of Nan Ya's equipment is locally produced, rather than imported, the cost of building a modern

plastics facility to Nan Ya is about half that of what it would cost to build in the United States or Japan.

"Our engineering costs about 25 percent of those in the U.S.," he explains, "and 80 percent of our equipment is made in Taiwan. We only import the most important pieces. So the total cost of our plants is about half that of a U.S. plastics plant. And this makes our depreciation charges very low."

Nan Ya's labor costs are also low, compared with other countries, as they are for almost all Taiwan industry.

Mr. Lin estimates that labor costs account for less than 10 percent of the company's total overhead, compared with 15 to 18 percent average in the United States and 12 to 16 percent in Japan. The cost in wages of running one calendar machine (which produces vinyl sheeting) over three work-shifts, he figures, is around \$750 per month in Japan, whereas in Taiwan it is only around \$250. In Korea, the cost is around \$150, but other costs are higher because Korea must import all of its raw materials from Japan.

This points up another cost savings for Nan Ya over its foreign competitors. Because it is a member of the Formosa Plastics Group, made up of eight chemicals-plywood companies with total sales of over \$500 million annually, Nan Ya is able to buy its vinyl chloride monomer (used to make PVC, polyvinyl-chloride) from a sister company at prices much lower than the world price. Nan Ya pays about \$480 per metric ton for its made-in-Taiwan chloride, compared with the approximate U.S. price of \$550, and \$520 in Japan.

"As a result of capacity additions and improvements in our processing abilities," Mr. Lin adds, "we might be able to get this price down even further, to around \$450 per ton, in the near future."

Equipment modernized

Two years ago, Nan Ya installed a computer to shepherd its production processes, added new calendaring machines, and doubled its output of PVC sheeling and synthetic leather. As a result the company claims today that it is the world's largest PVC processor.

The computer installation underscores another factor in Nan Ya's success — modernization. Nan Ya continually pours more money each year into upgrading and modernizing its production processes and facilities. This helps to keep its production costs in trim.

Over the past five years, the company has invested more than \$60 million in adding the latest equipment and technology in such things as computer-controlled calendars for vinyl sheeting, high-speed extrusion machines for plastic pipes, multiple color print machines for wall covering, a new French-made spinning machine for making polyester filaments; all this during a period when most other companies were retrenching because of the recession.

Nan Ya also emphasizes new products as well as new equipment. The company has a research staff of more than 100 employees who churn out 10 to 15 new products a year, Mr. Lin says, many of which turn out to be high-profit yielding items for the company.

"We may not be as big as Du Pont or Uoloo Carbide," Mr. Lin muses, "but we put just as much importance on research and development as anyone. It is the only way to keep growing."

Islanders' farming reaps a bonus in export income

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Rice, Taiwan's main staple food, is so plentiful this year that authorities have run out of storage space for it. With tons of rice piling up in fields waiting for sale space, the central government urged food bureau officials to find a solution.

It possible the huge surplus should be exported, said a member of the Yuan (legislature).

The high productivity of rice is symbolic of Taiwan's self-sufficiency in food despite the limited amount of arable land on the island (25 percent).

From 1952 to '65 agricultural products, especially sugar, were Taiwan's most important foreign exchange earners until fast expansion of manufacturing industries radically changed the country's earning pattern.

The export value of agricultural products is increasing every year, but in relation to industrial products, their percentage is steadily decreasing.

In 1976 the exports of agricultural products amounted to \$406 million, an increase of 37.3 percent over 1975. But this was still only 5 percent of Taiwan's total export value.

Nevertheless, viewed from the perspective of the immediate postwar period in 1945, agricultural development has been one of Taiwan's success stories.

"During the Japanese occupation [1895-1945], I can only remember eating rice once a year at a special festival," said an elderly Chinese

in Kaohsiung. "Poor people like me only ate sweet potatoes. Now I eat rice with every meal and young people think sweet potatoes are a delicacy. Ironie, isn't it?"

In the 1950s a series of land reform programs implemented by the government eliminated the unhealthy tenant system. Before, farmers paid more than 50 percent of their total crop yield to their landlords. In extreme cases, the rental rate was as high as 70 percent.

In 1949 the government reduced all rents to 37.5 percent of the estimated annual yield of the tenant farmers' main crop. In 1951 public lands were sold to incumbent tenants. Then, in the most important part of the reform in 1953, individual ownership of land was limited to 7.4 acres.

Any land owned over this amount had to be sold to the government and was resold to tenants.

American financial and technical assistance played a key role in Taiwan's agricultural rehabilitation and planning.

Development projects over the last 20 years have concentrated on upgrading rural facilities and improving the farmer's livelihood. Coastal dikes, drainage canals, rural roads, water supply systems, sewers, hospitals, and schools have been built throughout the countryside.

Farm management is being modernized, agricultural marketing improved, computerized information systems installed, and high-yield crops researched at modern experimental stations such as the Asian Vegetable Research and Development Center near Tainan, in southern Taiwan.

The results have been impressive. Since 1950



Rice harvesting machine

By R. Norman Mulhery, staff photographer

Abundant rice harvest — symbol of Taiwan's self-sufficiency in food

crop production has doubled, livestock production increased four times, and fishery yields, eight times.

This has been accomplished despite the fact the farming population has decreased from 76 percent of the population in 1950 to 37 percent last year. Taiwan's total population is 18.5 million.

Family income in rural areas increased in 1976. For each farmhouse with an average family of 6.91 persons, the income increased an average of 5.98 percent, from \$3,574 in 1975 to \$3,782 last year.

Even with these income gains, farmers have not kept pace with their city cousins, who

make an average of 20 to 30 percent more at industrial jobs.

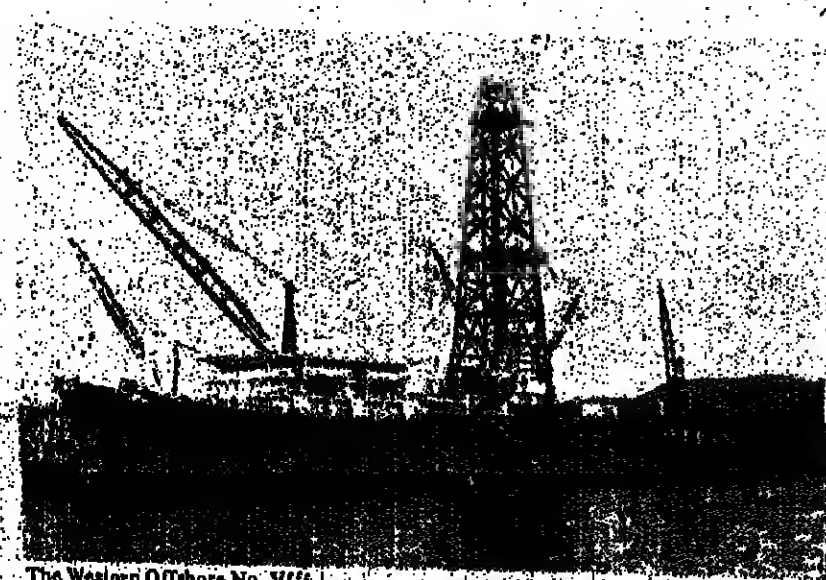
"The young people are leaving the farms for the cities," says agronomist Lin Tu-shing, who gives extension courses to farmers at Pingtung Province's agricultural improvement station.

To aid agricultural development and help raise farm income, the government allocated loan funds for the 1977-79 fiscal year to finance the following projects: (1) research to increase farm, fish, and livestock production; (2) rural community development; (3) development of hog raising technology; and (4) acceleration of farm mechanization.



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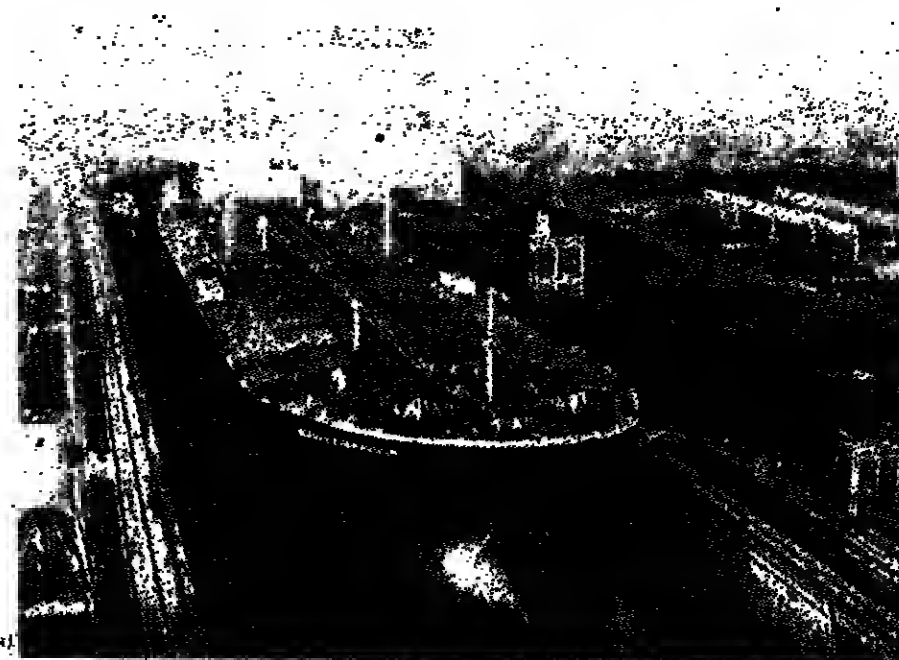
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'Less-warm relationship' with U.S. concerns Taiwan

Visits from Washington officialdom decreasing

By David Thompson

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
Going almost unnoticed except for the flag flying above the tattered wall that surrounds it, the U.S. Embassy in Taipei stands a few blocks west of the city's central train station.

The small, unimpressive, two-story building's facilities are inadequate. So consular information and trade-office services are housed at separate sites in widely different parts of the city.

Local Chinese language newspapers reported with tongue in cheek last month that real estate purchased by the embassy 10 years ago in build a new set of offices still remains unused. No construction appears to be contemplated for the vacant lot.

"The Americans are probably saving their money to build in Peking," says a Chinese government official half jokingly, and while the White House denies there are plans afoot to recognize the People's Republic of China (PRC), it is well known that funds for improving or expanding official American facilities on Taiwan are quietly disapproved by the Pentagon and State Department.

Taipei notes bitterly that visits by high-ranking U.S. officials have decreased significantly since President Nixon's trip to Peking in 1972.

"We usually expect official visits from Washington now around December," says a disgruntled source in Taipei, "just in time for them to do a few days Christmas shopping."

Contacts between Republic of China (ROC) Government figures and U.S. Embassy officials are almost to the point where both sides feel they have met to discuss a tragedy in the other's family.

"Basically, we have a fine substantial relationship," says Frederick Chen, a Yale graduate and Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, "but there are some aspects which are absent. I cannot describe our relationship as a warm or intimate one. There are few consultations at a high level following the U.S. intention to improve its relationship with Peking."

James Shen, the Taiwanese ambassador to Washington, for example, has tried unsuccessfully so far to meet with President Carter to discuss the Taiwan issue.

U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance's recent Asian policy speech in New York incensed Taipei, not so much for his pledge to continue talks to eventually normalize relations with Peking, but for the conspicuous lack of reference to Taiwan.

In short, the Taiwanese feel they are being treated insultingly by the U.S. despite the long association between the two governments, and 66 treaties and agreements which both countries observe in regard to each other.

The Taiwanese also took Mr. Vance's speech to mean that President Carter had inched

closer to accepting Peking's three conditions for the establishment of full diplomatic relations: (1) derecognition of Taiwan, (2) withdrawal of all U.S. troops stationed here (1,400 military advisers), and (3) cancellation of the U.S.-Taiwan Mutual Security Treaty.

Of the three conditions proposed by Peking for full relations with the U.S. the most troublesome is the one calling for abrogation of the defense pact with Taiwan.

"Nobody wants to have to live with his conscience if he is saddled with the onus of abandoning Taiwan to a PRC attack across the Taiwan Straits," says an American source.

But even if the consequences of dropping recognition of Taiwan were not that drastic, American businessmen in Taiwan are not entirely convinced by the "business as usual" promises proffered by U.S. officials who discount the possibility of a Chinese invasion of Taiwan.

The American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei wrote directly to the White House to ask the following questions:

1. To what extent, if any, would normalization of relations between the U.S. and China mean that the U.S. recognizes the right of the Chinese to regulate the activities of U.S. business, including airlines, banks, manufacturers, and others in Taiwan?

2. If U.S. policy were to lead to derecognition of Taiwan, what steps would the U.S. take to ensure that present commitments and investment guarantees to American businesses in Taiwan are honored?

3. If Taiwan is "derecognized," how would Exim Bank financing and Overseas Private Investment Corporation political risk insurance be made available for new U.S. investments in Taiwan?

4. Having encouraged Taiwan through special lower tariffs for developing countries manufactured products, most-favored nation status, and other means to gear its industry toward export trade with the U.S., how will Taiwan-based business exports be treated if normalization occurs?

5. What, if anything, would replace the dozens of bilateral and multilateral agreements between the U.S. and Taiwan affecting trade, investment, communications, transportation, and the protection of certain individual rights?

The chamber's letter, representing over 200 U.S. firms in Taiwan, was sent to President Carter April 12. To date no reply has been made to these questions despite a follow-up letter mailed by chamber president Martin Van Gessel in June.

"We do not object to improving relations with the People's Republic of China as long as it is advantageous to the United States and not at the expense of the Republic of China," Mr. Van Gessel explains.

The "Japanese formula" for the U.S. continuing relations with Taiwan has been frequently mentioned by Peking. This would mean downgrading the American presence on Taiwan to trade office status to open an embassy in Peking.

"The only trouble with that idea," criticizes an American observer in Taipei, "is that the Japanese count on us maintaining our present arrangement with Taiwan in order to protect their investment on the island."

It is the "post-normalization" debate which seems to be occupying the minds of American policymakers. The act of normalization itself seems to be taken as a foregone conclusion even among Taiwanese officials in private conversations.

Taipei, Tokyo keep liaison through 'trade embassies'

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Taiwan has formal diplomatic ties with only one Asian nation - Korea. However, what it lacks in formal ties with Japan and Southeast Asia is more than compensated for through substantial multibillion-dollar trade relations.

Tokyo and Taipei maintain nongovernmental ties through unofficial embassies called the "Japanese Interchange Association" and the "Taiwan East Asia Relations Association." This arrangement was agreed upon following Japan's normalization of relations with the People's Republic of China. Japan is Taiwan's No. 2 trade partner after the United States.

In 1976 two-way trade between Japan and Taiwan was \$3.546 billion. Japan had a surplus of \$1.356 billion in its favor. How to narrow Japan's lion share of the trade is one of Taiwan's toughest economic problems.

"At the moment we shall have to tolerate a huge deficit," admits Y. T. Wong, director of the Board of Foreign Trade. "But I don't think Japan can maintain this advantage for much longer. We are gradually gaining a competitive edge over them."



By Neil A. Martin

Yi-Ting Wong

Taiwan manufacturers are taking a page from Japanese trading methods employed with the Americans and Europeans to expand their exports to Japan by offering products that cater especially to Japanese tastes and market demands.

Political relations with Japan have not been particularly cordial following Tokyo's opting for an embassy in Peking at Taiwan's expense.

In 1974, two years after Japan recognized Peking, bilateral relations were dealt another sharp blow when former Japanese foreign minister Ohira said in a Diet comment that the national flag of Taiwan did not represent anybody.

Taiwan retaliated angrily by banning Japan Air Lines (JAL) from landing in Taipei.

"Our therapy was effective," says a Taiwan Foreign Ministry official. "The Japanese realized that our tolerance had limits even though we realize they are trying their best not to displease Peking."

In 1976 Japanese Foreign Minister Miyazawa apologized in a Diet talk saying that the flag of the Republic of China was recognized by many governments of the world.

Face partially restored, Taiwan decided to allow air links to open again. But because of the first remark, the Japanese were told their own flag-carrying airlines - JAL - would not be welcomed.

As a compromise, JAL created a wholly owned subsidiary airline called Japan Asia Airways (JAA) which only flies the Taipei-Tokyo route.

Relations with the Japanese Asian nations, especially the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and Indonesia are not ruffled by the trauma peculiar to the Japan-Taiwan connection.

In fact, Taiwan's President Yen Chia-Kan emphasized to the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in an interview with Philippine journalists in June that Taiwan is ready to cooperate for the development of the region.

Mr. Yen said that economic cooperation between ASEAN and Taiwan would not only help development but insure the security of the region.

D. T.

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OCT. 16-24 TAIWAN ELECTRONICS SHOW

NOV. 22-28 TAIWAN FURNITURE SHOW

1978

MAR. 7-11 TAIWAN TEXTILE AND GARMENT SHOW

MAR. 21-25 TAIWAN SPORTING GOODS SHOW

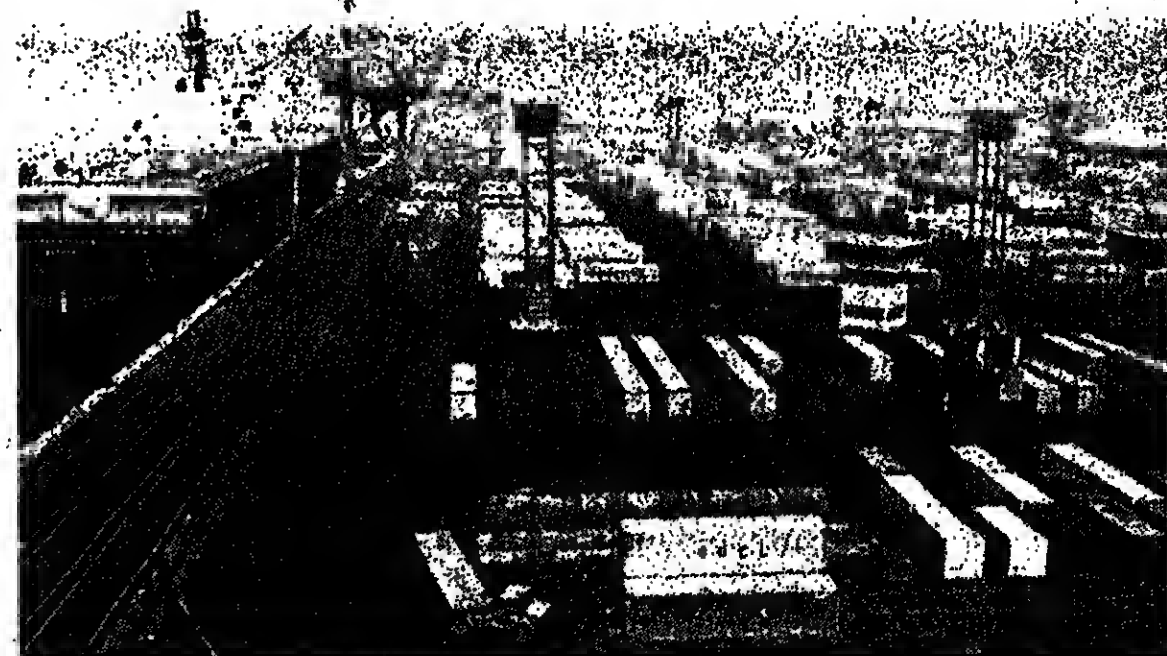
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Talk to us to get a clear picture of Taiwan's booming trade business. Also to find out whom you should contact for purchasing and marketing. The Board of Foreign Trade is here to facilitate

Small island's economy gets big infusion of foreign firms' capital and know-how

By Neil A. Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Kaohsiung, Taiwan
Going up on the muddy banks of the Lin Pao River on the outskirts of this southern port city is a new \$180 million petrochemicals plant which, when completed two years from now, will supply an essential raw material to Taiwan's all-important textiles industry.

The plant is being built by the China American Petrochemical Company, a Sino-American joint venture firm, 50 percent owned by Amoco Chemical Corporation, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana. When completed, the plant will produce annually 150,000 metric tons of purified terephthalic acid, a main item in producing polyester fibers.

Amoco Chemical is the world's largest producer of this acid. In the past it had licensed Chinese Petroleum Corporation, a government-owned corporation, to make the polyester raw material, which is used mostly in garmentmaking. However, as president Robert C. Jagel of

China American notes, "Taiwan's textiles industry has grown so rapidly that we wanted to come into the business directly as an investor. We are optimistic about the future of both Taiwan and its textiles industry."

Other firms coming in

To be sure, Amoco Chemical is not alone in its optimism. In fact, a growing number of foreign investors, while paying lip service to the potential of business opportunities in mainland China, are opting for business "now" and are investing in this tiny anti-communist country.

For example, next door to Amoco's PTA plant, Union Carbide has a 25 percent interest in the construction of a \$105 million ethylene glycol plant, another important link in the nation's burgeoning petrochemicals industry. Britain's Imperial Chemical Industries recently broke ground for a new paintmaking plant near Taipei, its first investment in the Republic of China. Philips, the big Dutch electronics firm, is in the midst of a major expansion of its already sizable television assembly business in Taiwan. Likewise, RCA and

Zenith are expanding their Taiwan operations. And Grundig, the West German electronics company, is building a television assembly plant in Kaohsiung.

In all, after an alarming decline following the 1973 oil embargo and the subsequent world economic recession, foreign investment in the Republic of China is on a noticeable upswing. Government approval of new investment projects totaled \$141.5 million in 1976, a 20 percent increase over 1975 and ending a two-year decline in new investment proposals. The upswing was due mainly to the activities of the two European electronics manufacturers (Philips and Grundig), which received approval for investments totaling \$32.5 million, in sharp contrast with the \$4.2 million worth of European investment in Taiwan in 1975.

Japanese expand, too

The Japanese also increased their stake in the island country in 1976, winning approvals of \$31 million worth of new investment, compared with \$23 million in 1975. On the other hand, U.S. investment declined last year, dropping sharply to \$22 million from \$41 million in 1975. Chinese investment (from Chinese living outside the two Chinas) was also down slightly, to \$40 million, from \$47 million the year before.

With more than a half billion dollars already invested in Taiwan, the United States still remains the island's biggest investor. "The drop in U.S. and overseas Chinese investment," explains William Francis McRory, first secretary of the U.S. Embassy in Taipei, "probably is more the result of worldwide conditions than any factors relating specifically to Taiwan."

Herbert Gale Peabody, executive director of the American Chamber of Commerce in Taipei, concurs. "The global economic recession discouraged new U.S. investment in Taiwan during the past two years, but the economic climate is clearing up now and we expect to see a pickup in the flow of U.S. capital into Taiwan in the near future."

What about the problem of the "two Chinas," and U.S. Government efforts to normalize relations with mainland China? Won't that discourage U.S. investment in the future?

"American businessmen here are more concerned about the recent changes in U.S. tax law affecting overseas incomes than they are



Jagel — head of new joint venture

about the 'two Chinas' problem," Mr. Peabody says. "Most seem reassured by Carter administration statements that U.S. investment in Taiwan will be taken into consideration in planning future relationships with the mainland Chinese. For others, the prospects of mainland business are simply too remote to worry about. Taiwan is business — now."

"Most U.S. investors seem to be discounting the political factor in determining whether to invest in Taiwan," says the U.S. Embassy's Mr. McRory. "And are more or less confident that their investments will be safeguarded in any agreement eventually worked out between the United States and the People's Republic of China."

Without question, foreign investment continues to play an important role in the Taiwan economy. Between 1953 and 1975, some 2,000 foreign companies invested more than \$1.5 billion in Taiwan, mostly in the electronics and textiles area. And, according to a recent government study, these firms exported some \$1 billion worth of goods in 1975, representing about 30 percent of the nation's total overseas sales.

Gross output of foreign-owned companies represented about 7 percent of the country's GNP (gross national product: total output of goods and services) that same year and 18 percent of Taiwan's total manufacturing output. About a fourth of the government's business income tax revenues came from foreign firms in 1975, while these companies accounted for about 5 percent of the nation's work force.

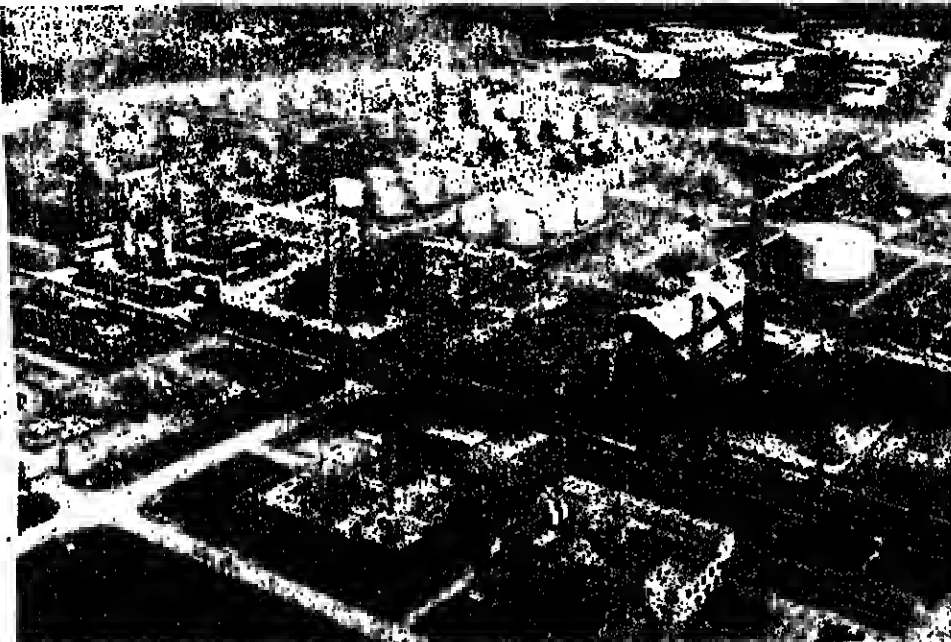
Six-year plan

More important, the government is counting on substantial injections of foreign capital to help complete its new six-year economic plan. According to Lawrence Lu, director of the government's industrial development and investment center, Taiwan will require an average of about \$180 million in new foreign capital investment yearly through 1981, or roughly more than \$1 billion.

"We will probably need more than this if we are to realize fully the aims of the new economic plan," says Mr. Lu. "Thus, we are trying to further improve our investment climate so as to attract much more capital from abroad. We plan to provide additional incentives to capital-intensive, technology-based enterprises to upgrade our infrastructural capabilities, to further develop our national resources and raw materials industries, and to open up more industrial estates."

Top priority is being given to a revision of the government's Statute for Encouragement of Investment, which Mr. Lu says should be completed by the end of this year. Under consideration are extension of the current five-year tax holiday by one to three years for industries falling into the capital-intensive, high technology category; duty-free privileges for domestic production by qualified industries; an extension in the current period of reduced income tax by one to two years; and new tax incentives for trading companies to stimulate exports.

Taiwan's defense manpower and hardware are imposing, but the government says this is not enough. Weapons systems are being upgraded in an intensive effort to develop the domestic industry and buy more sophisticated arms from outside.



Chinese Petroleum Corporation refinery in Kaohsiung
Demand for petrochemicals is attracting foreign investments

Keeping weather eye on Peking invasion threat

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taipei, Taiwan
U.S. Secretary of State Vance has said that Peking and Taipei should be left to work out their problems "peacefully." But officials on Taiwan say the mainland will not settle for anything less than complete political capitulation.

"It's either that or face an armed invasion across the Taiwan Strait," says a former Nationalist Chinese general.

In a doomsday scenario, Republic of China (Taiwan) military analysts estimate that mainland Chinese would require at least 20 divisions to launch an invasion across Taiwan Strait.

They also estimate that the Chinese would need 100,000 paratroopers and 10,000 tanks. Most of these would be wiped out by the defenders, but no one thinks Taiwan could hold out under sustained attacks involving more waves than that.

"However, to invade us, the mainlanders would have to pull many of their troops off the Soviet border," says one military strategist, and they are just not willing to take that risk.

In fact, the strategist reckons, "The Russians are too smart to be drawn into a land war with the Chinese."

Mutual security pact

One of the 60 treaties and agreements between Taipei and Washington is the 1954

Mutual Security Treaty, which guarantees U.S. protection should Taiwan be attacked. If normalization of relations with Peking occurs, the United States will probably cancel this treaty.

Not that it will make that much difference, say cynical Taiwanese. Only 1,400 American servicemen remain on Taiwan, none of whom are combat troops, and no one really believes that considerable U.S. support will be thrown behind Taipei in an emergency.

Military reliance, therefore, has become the key phrase on Taiwan. Domestic production of arms is pushed hard. This year's budget provides 43.3 percent for military spending.

The Nationalists already turn out their own helicopters, 155-mm. artillery, small arms, ammunition, and so on. They also have a large stockpile of Soviet-made missiles, and are working on heat-seeking air-to-air missiles, and surface-to-air missiles.

An addition includes Israeli Gabriel surface-to-surface missiles, although the Defense Department officially denies that the weapons system was purchased from Tel Aviv.

Half a million in uniform

Taiwan's defense force stands at 500,000 men — 350,000 Army troops, 70,000 in the Navy and Marines, and 80,000 in the Air Force. They are well trained and highly disciplined.

Nuclear weapons are not planned, although the Nationalists have atomic capability. Sophisticated computer tests have secretly taken

place in Taipei which show that nuclear weapons can be produced if necessary.

"This would be a last resort," said an official source. "We don't want to contemplate using nuclear weapons against Chinese troops, even if they are Communists."

Intelligence gathering is used extensively. Technicians sifting at supersensitive sound equipment monitor the engines of Chinese aircraft taking off or landing along the Fukien coastline across the Taiwan Strait.

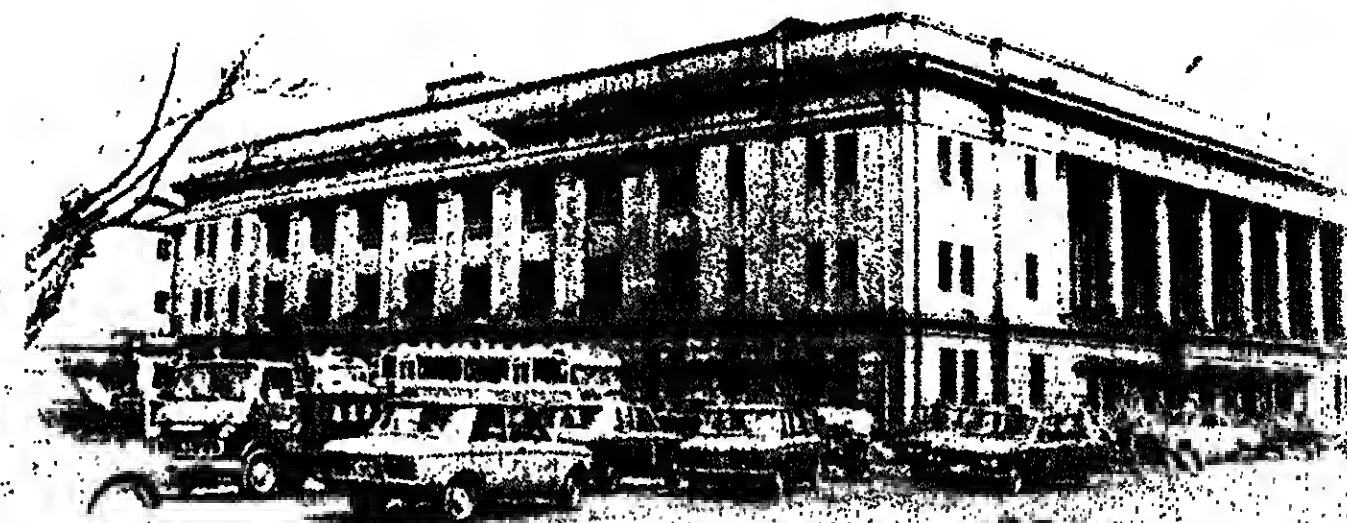
The espionage network on the mainland is small but effective. Government officials say their mainland spies have found it easier to operate since the passing of Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Spying seems to work well both ways, however. For the Chinese, it has been difficult to penetrate the island's defenses, and they are reluctant to gain access to military bases on Taiwan recently.

One official military reason given is that training had been neglected when foreign guests were welcomed, but one intelligence report indicates otherwise. Apparently, detailed descriptions of Taiwan's defenses have ended up in Peking's hands after visitors obligingly passed sensitive information to mainland agents.

Taiwan's defense manpower and hardware are imposing, but the government says this is not enough. Weapons systems are being upgraded in an intensive effort to develop the domestic industry and buy more sophisticated arms from outside.

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Textile exports zoom to \$2.5 billion

'Imported' from mainland, industry tops 'big six'

By David Tharp

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Textiles lead Taiwan's traditional "big six" exports. The other five are sugar, plywood, plastics, machines, and electronics. The textile industry was started by mainlanders who brought their plants to Taiwan from Shanghai and Canton in the late 1940s to avoid Communist rule.

The export value of textiles in 1976 was \$2.5 billion, 30.7 percent of Taiwan's total exports and the island's leading export item.

Textiles grew into one of Taiwan's principal production industries partly as a result of a U.S. think-tank analysis in 1961 which encouraged the country's electronic and petrochemical development.

Some of the spin-offs from the petrochemical industry's expansion were petrochemical intermediates, plastics, resins, and synthetic fibers which created the dynamic base for rapid textile-industry growth.

Today, Taiwan's textiles can be found in Middle East bazaars, fashionable Japanese department stores, and small shops all over Southeast Asia.

U.S. department stores are the largest buyers of Taiwan-made garments. These include Montgomery Ward, J.C. Penney, R.H. Macy, S.S. Kresge, Alexander's and Sears, Roebuck.

Famous shirt names

Well-known U.S. shirt manufacturers now have many of their products made in Taiwan, including Van Heusen, Campus, Manhattan Shirts, Oxford, and Landmark.

Far Eastern Textile Mills is one of Taiwan's most representative textile firms and is also one of the country's top exporters. In 1976 Far Eastern accounted for one-fifteenth of Taiwan's total production, and one-twentieth of the nation's total exports.

Founded in 1942 in Shanghai and evacuated to Taiwan in 1948, the company started off in Taipei with 15 employees including the president.

Now the firm employs a total of 10,000 workers at different plants throughout Taiwan. Far Eastern has also diversified into the cement industry, and owns a chain of department stores in Taiwan.

The Far Eastern Department Store in downtown Taipei is modeled after Japanese counterparts as girls dressed in matching uniforms and while gloves bow to each customer entering the building to welcome them.

Company paternalism

W. C. Wang, a former army officer and now assistant manager of Far Eastern's textile mill at Panchiao just outside Taipei, takes great pride in the paternalistic attitude of his company toward its employees, 88 percent of whom are women.

The average wage of a female worker at the mill is \$110 a month. If a female employee lives in the company's dormitory, rent and food are provided free.

Painted in large Chinese characters on the wall of the women's dormitory at the Panchiao plant are the slogans: "one heart," "production for the country," and "cooperation - production - a happy family."

Besides the dormitory is a spacious, well-lighted library for the male and female employees of the plant.

"Far Eastern will help send any employee to night schools such as technical training courses or colleges in his or her off-duty hours," explained Mr. Wang.

But for those who prefer to use their time in other ways, adjacent to the library are a company-owned Olympic-size swimming pool, a gymnasium, and skating rink. Running down the middle of the plant's grounds is a carefully trimmed nine-hole golf course. No green fees are charged to Far Eastern employees.

Despite these fringe benefits not all the workers are happy. Explains Mr. Wang: "Many of the girls leave because the working conditions in an electronics plant are much better."

Comparison of conditions

"Here, a worker is kept busy throughout his eight-hour shift watching and supervising many spinning and weaving operations. But in the electronics plant they sit at individual tables, it is air-conditioned, and they get paid more for less work."

As a result, Far Eastern has to compete more for the labor available. "We even have to use men now in spinning and weaving sections where we used to employ only women," Mr. Wang noted.

He added that all factories were experiencing a labor shortage because of a business boom, and easy availability of jobs in new industries.

Although Far Eastern and other textile manufacturers are very busy fulfilling orders, textile exports showed a decline in value in the first five months of 1977.

Trade officials attributed the phenomenon to the keen competition among exporting nations.

Typhoon strikes southern Taiwan

A typhoon struck southern Taiwan July 26, reportedly killing 28 persons and injuring more than 200. Twenty thousand homes were destroyed, and property damages were estimated at over \$250 million.

A tropical storm, nicknamed Thelma, struck at Kaohsiung, a major port and industrial city. The storm-damaged area was reported to cover 2,000 square miles. Stories written for this section were completed prior to the occurrence of the typhoon.

Statistics show Taiwan's exports of textiles in the January-May period amounted to \$849 million, a reduction of 10.1 percent compared with the \$938.4 million registered in the same period a year ago.

Because of stiff competition, mainly from South Korea, profit margins have been cut considerably, preventing upward adjustments in prices.

Protectionism growing

Economic planners had hopes of exporting \$2.7 billion worth of textiles this year. "But more efforts will be needed," said a representative for textile exporters.

In view of growing protectionist trends in many industrialized nations and the proposed import restrictions on various Taiwan products such as textiles, many traders are not optimistic about prospects for the latter half of 1977.

"If we can keep smooth seas and the price of oil stays stable, we'll get through this alright," predicted Far Eastern's Mr. Wang. "but it won't be a boom year like 1975."

Flurry of hope on offshore oil, gas muted by dry holes and politics

By Neil A. Martin

Special to

The Christian Science Monitor

Kaohsiung, Taiwan

Three years ago, Continental Oil Corporation set off a flurry of international headlines when it discovered commercial quantities of gas while exploring for oil in an area off the coast of this southern port city.

The discovery located in what is known as the Taiwan Straits that separates Taiwan from mainland China, sparked exploratory activities by international oil prospectors, including Conoco, Amoco Petroleum Company (a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Indiana), and Gulf Oil, all of them working in partnership with the government-owned Chinese Petroleum Corporation (CPC).

Oil exploration was planned for five zones running from the southern tip of the island through the Taiwan Straits and hundreds of miles north through the straits into the East China Sea, with a narrow extension toward the Yellow Sea near Shanghai.

Today, most of this activity has come to a halt. Both Amoco and Conoco have stopped their oil search and shifted their exploratory efforts to other areas of Southeast Asia. Aflame of Korean oil and gas drilling and is unlikely to resume.

Even the perennially hopeful CPC suffered a setback earlier this year when a \$10 million drilling platform sank in heavy seas while being towed into position near the Pescadore Islands in the Straits.

Once prepared to earmark more than \$200 million for an aggressive search, the CPC has trimmed back its oil exploration budget. It also recently fired Sun Oil to restudy the oil structures in several offshore areas where it had previously found some indications of high-grade crude but which failed to pan out with subsequent drillings.

While Taiwan has no large known petroleum deposits, some geologists believe the potential is great. Satellite reconnaissance indicates that Taiwan may be sitting on an important oil belt. The most optimistic estimates from some foreign oil geologists suggest that this island may someday emerge as a "second Kuwait" in oil reserves.

And, of course, Taiwan's need for oil is obvious. Totally dependent upon foreign imports (Taiwan imported about \$850 million worth of crude oil in 1976, mostly from Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, and Indonesia), the impact of a major oil find on the country's economic position would be great.

Besides improving Taiwan's balance of payments and providing it with a secure supply source close to home, oil would in the words of CPC's Mr. Lee, "lay the foundations for the further expansion of our petrochemical industry."

Perhaps, But, in the words of one U.S. oil man in Taiwan, "The promise may not be worth the pitfalls."

The problem, it seems, is as much political as it is geological or economic. Shortly after the CPC announced in 1974 a massive \$240 million investment scheme to drill 10 land and 15 offshore oil wells, the U.S. and China began to quarrel.

Henry Kissinger reportedly pressed U.S. oil company executives to back off from ambitious drilling plans because of Communist China's claims to the Straits area.

The U.S. Government feared a commercial oil discovery might set off a new confrontation between the two Chinese at a time when U.S. policy was clearly aimed at improving relations between Washington and Peking. "one foreign diplomatic source in Taipei explains.

Taiwan government officials and CPC executives brush aside the reports of U.S. diplomatic pressure, and cite instead economic and geological factors as being responsible for the slower pace of oil exploration.

TAIWAN ISLAND PROVINCE OF THE Republic of China

The fabulous National Palace Museum in Taipei houses the world's greatest individual collection of Chinese art treasures, among them 12,293 paintings.



Painting entitled "Spring Morning in the Palace of the Han"

The museum is one of the countless reasons why Taipei is one of the most beautiful cities in the world.

Among other reasons are the reflection of China's glorious cultural heritage not only in the priceless relics of the past, but in the everyday life of the people—in their manners, customs, and traditions.

The comfort of luxury hotels, moderate prices which give travelers superior value for the dollar.

The legendary loveliness of an evergreen island that spanned 18th century Portuguese mariners christened "Ilha Formosa" (Beautiful Island).

The indisputable fact that Taipei is the gastronomic capital of the world in Chinese cooking.

All the listed and unlisted reasons point to one irresistible conclusion: IN THINKING OF TRAVEL, THINK OF TAIWAN.

And remember: stopovers in Taiwan involve no extra air fare.

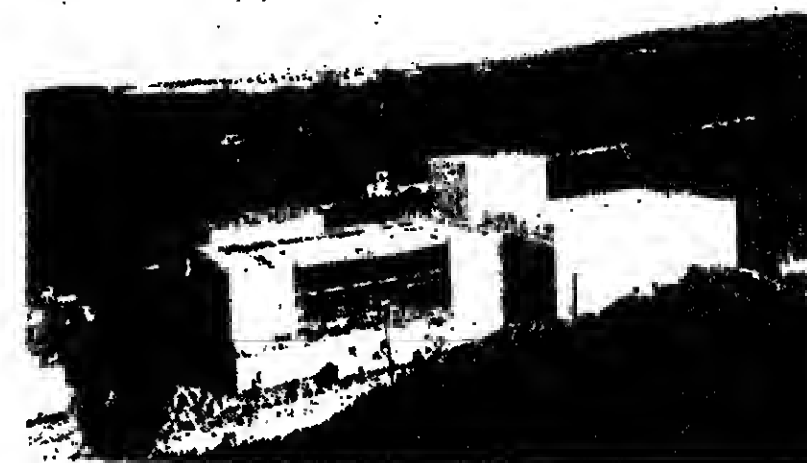
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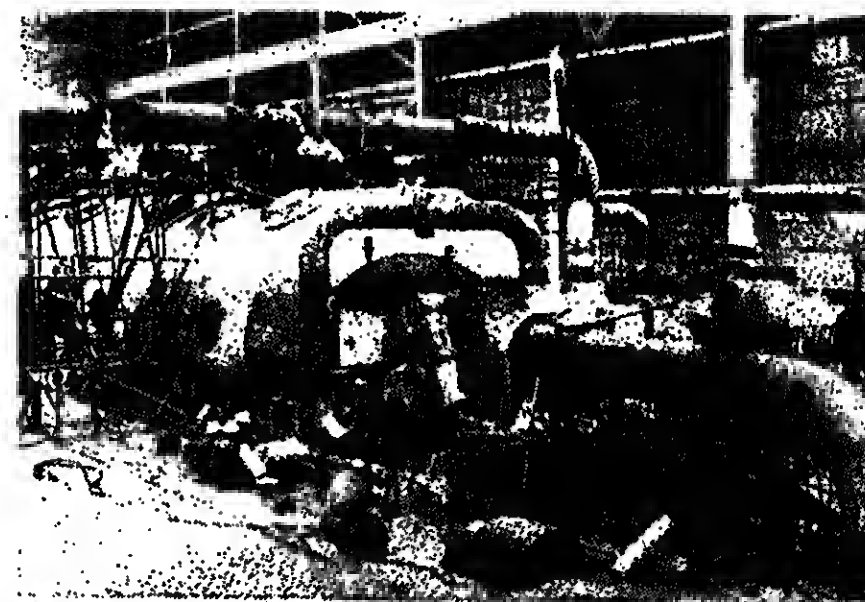
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Installation of a turbine-generator of the First Nuclear Power Station



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TAIWAN POWER COMPANY
Republic of China

Taiwan's electronics becoming a top export performer

By David Tharp
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Government effort attracts blue-chip foreign investors

Taipei, Taiwan
On July 5 Taiwan's Economics Minister Y. S. Sun presented in a special ceremony Premier's Awards to the country's top 10 exporters for their performance in 1976.

Six of them were electronics companies. Electric and electronic goods accounted for a huge \$1.28 billion of Taiwan's exports last year. Despite the decline in sales of some traditional exports in the first part of 1977, electronic sales made strong gains. In April alone exports of electric and electronic parts were up 24 percent over the same period in 1976.

"U.S., Japanese, and now even European investors are strongly interested in our developing electronics industry," says K. S. Chang, Vice-Minister of the Economics Affairs Ministry.

Total foreign investment in Taiwan's electronics industry is close to half a billion dollars, and there is no sign of foreign interest abating. Philips, the Dutch electronics giant, will start production of color TVs at its Taiwan subsidiary this year, further upgrading the technological standard of Taiwan's industry.

Although some barriers are being imposed against Japan's electronic products in the U.S., Taiwan is confident that it can rapidly increase its color television production with sales to the U.S., Europe, and Asian countries.

"We may even be ready to compete with the Japanese in their own domestic market," predicts Y. T. Wong, director general of Taiwan's Board of Foreign Trade.

This confidence results from the government's initiative to focus on the development of technology-oriented, capital-intensive industries. Electronics is one of 39 specific areas receiving special incentives by the government's Industrial Development and Investment Center of the Ministry of Economic Affairs.

Over the past 10 years, the government end

local businessmen have succeeded in attracting an influx of overseas capital to greatly stimulate the expansion of the electronics industry.

From 1963 to 1973 TV production grew at an annual rate of 105 percent, and tape recorders at 285 percent. Exports of TV sets went from nothing in 1967 to \$388 million in 1974, and radios from \$11 million to \$220 million in the same period. About 90 percent of Taiwan's TV set exports are shipped to the U.S.

Due to the world economic recession in 1974-75, electronics production declined. To get the industry moving again, the government encouraged integrated circuit, memory planes, computer parts, calculator, digital watch, and color TV production by giving foreign investors generous tax holidays and duty-free privileges to produce in Taiwan.

In addition, the government invested millions of dollars in special research and development of its own for the electronics industry. Government strategy paid off. Electronics now are one of the country's fastest growing industrial sectors, and has acquired considerable depth with local manufacture of most components.

Foreign investors in the electronics industry read like a social register of the world's blue-chip companies: RCA, General Instrument Corporation, IBM, ITT, Motorola, Zenith, Texas Instruments, Admiral, Hitachi, Mitsubishi, Matsushita, Sanyo, Mitsumi, Nippon Electric, Sony, Toko, Funai, Philips (Netherlands), and Grundig (West Germany).

Japanese investment has continued to be of immense importance to Taiwan's electronics industry despite Tokyo's break in relations with Taipei. An upswing in industry confidence was also due last year to two major European manufacturers, Philips and Grundig, which re-

ceived approval for investments totaling \$32.5 million.

Taiwan's Export Processing Zone Administration (EPZA) reports that electronics industries are their No. 1 income earner. Three export processing zones are located in Kaohsiung (KEPZ), Nantse (NEPZ), and Tainan (TEPZ).

Outside these zones, an investor must consult different government agencies for import and export permits, taxes, electricity, and other paperwork. Inside the zones one building provides all the necessary forms where approvals are made.

For American market

The U.S. firm General Instrument maintains one of its Taiwan plants in the Kaohsiung EPZ. It employs 2,100 workers, 90 percent women, on three shifts six days a week. The plant is 100 percent American owned.

The firm produces integrated circuits, TV electronic games, and aircraft communication equipment mainly for the American market. It was one of the top 10 firms cited by Economics Minister Sun on July 5 for its high export performance.

"We are like a family," said industrial relations manager Frank Tung, a former lieutenant colonel in the Republic of China Marine Corps. "We treat everyone like brothers and sisters."

Asked why he thought foreign firms invested in electronics in Taiwan, Mr. Tung replied, "Our people are hard workers, they are skilled, have a high education, and have the patience for the work — with a certain delicate touch which ensures a quality product."

Starting workers are paid about \$105 a month. Seniority of the job brings more pay. While most of the employees come from Kaohsiung, 20 percent are from such places as

Ping Tung, the next province, Tainan, and Tainan in the north.

These outside workers can live in the EPZ dormitory. Three hundred women from General Instrument's plant do. For married women who take maternity leave, the company pays them full salary for two months after their child's birth.

Frank Tung, a graduate of the U.S. Marine's Quantico officers training course, says his company also provides labor insurance, welfare benefits, and hospital fees for all the employees.

"We have salary increases every year as labor costs rise, and overall, people are very happy working for this company," Mr. Tung said.

To encourage further growth in the electronics industry, the Ministry of Affairs announced at the beginning of the year to set stiffer standards for the electronic parts, components, and products.

Measures also are being taken to improve the investment climate to develop more technology-intensive products in the industry. And effort is being made to encourage manufacture of basic raw materials — parts and components — that are not now made domestically in order to ease reliance on imports.

Electronics award

Furthermore, government and privately owned research institutes are encouraged to improve present electronics product lines such as color televisions, sound equipment, cassette video tapes, microwave ovens, integrated circuits, and medical equipment.

These ambitious promotion campaigns resulted in Tainan Television Company winning an award for the most outstanding product in engineering of an audio-color television at electronics show held recently in Chicago.

Taipei officials say the Tainan show that local electronic technology reached international standards.

zation



By Clayton Jones



Faces of Amazon Indians



By Clayton Jones

Two viewpoints from the working people of Taiwan

A shipyard worker proud of his simple life

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Kaohsiung, Taiwan
Hsu Cheng-hsiung is an engine room foreman of China Shipbuilding Corporation's Kaohsiung shipyard. He is married and has two children, an 11-year-old boy and 4-year-old girl. Mr. Hsu has worked at his present job two years after transferring from his firm's old plant in Keelung, in northern Taiwan.

Over an evening meal of roast chicken, soup, and two vegetables in the kitchen of his company-owned apartment, Mr. Hsu spoke proudly

about his simple life, which he said has improved in many ways over the last 10 years.

"Everything is better than 10 years ago — housing, transportation, industry, pay."

He is buying his apartment, with three bedrooms, living room, and two bathrooms, from his company with a 15-year loan. He works 48-hour week, and his monthly salary is \$395.

Motor-scooter commuter

He cannot afford a car but rides to work on a motor scooter. His family makes do with a black and white television. His wife has a refrigerator and washing machine.

A dedicated family man, Mr. Hsu takes his wife and children on weekend outings around Kaohsiung, usually for picnics on Sunday. He hopes to send both his son and daughter to a university; otherwise, he thinks they should get a technical education as skilled workers.

For his own relaxation Mr. Hsu reads and goes to the movies. He gets pocket money from his wife after handing over his pay to her every month to manage the family's affairs.

His marriage was arranged through introductions made by older friends. He thinks his family is happy because his responsibilities are also important.

Doing his best

Mr. Hsu says he has no particular problems, and his philosophy is to do his best for the shipyard and society. In return, he expects to be paid according to his efforts.

With such a tough job he sometimes worries about accidents but is satisfied that his government-owned company will take care of his medical expenses if necessary while providing for his children.

"Beyond my job I will continue to make my life more worthwhile, more interesting, and more meaningful," he said.



Hsu Cheng-hsiung

A part of her salary is put aside for her wedding day

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Kaohsiung, Taiwan
Miss Huang Chiu-shieh is an assistant foreman in General Instrument Corporation's Kaohsiung plant. Single, she lives in the export processing zone's women's dormitory.

She has worked for the American electronics firm eight years. Her monthly salary is \$147 (U.S.), but she puts in overtime which brings her an extra \$80 to \$70 every month.

When she visits her family in the north of Kaohsiung Province, she takes home half her salary to give to her mother, a common act of filial piety among traditional Chinese families in Taiwan. The remainder of her salary is banked for the day she gets married. Her savings now total \$2,630.

Her father runs a foodstuff store. He thinks she is lucky to have a job with a foreign-owned business inside the export processing zone, and that she can work in shops or other plants in Kaohsiung.

Even though, admittedly, conservative, she doesn't think that men should be paid more than she for doing the same job. She believes it's harder to make a living as a woman.

Dormitory life appeals to her because she enjoys socializing with her friends after work and playing table tennis in the dorm's recreation center.

During summer vacations she and several friends from the dorm travel to different tourist spots on Taiwan. She would like to go abroad and perhaps visit the United States, which she describes as "a luxurious place" from her impressions from American movies.

But costs and tight travel restrictions prevent her from doing so.

She is in no hurry to get married, but she does the ideal men must be neat in appearance and share her outlook on life. Foreign girls impress her as being free to make friends with men.

"In Taiwan it is more difficult to have girlfriends," she said. "We have cultural barriers such as our families. We are more conservative than the West."

As an assistant foreman Miss Huang leads train new workers in the plant's air-conditioned production rooms.

Asked what she likes to do to relax, she replied with a gentle smile "read romantic novels."



Miss Huang Chiu-shieh

Angle from the nearest landing strip

At a time keeps insects under control and best resurges nutrients to the thin layers of jungle topsoil.

Savagely, Brazilians are learning, too, that many Indians willing to be patient and tolerate Western ways, to selected foreign ideas and practices, and share their time and culture with opposing cultures.

The humble Tukano and their Indian brothers seek to live in harmony with anything in their small units, to create a continuity by establishing new links to intrusion of industrial society.

Throughout their lives, the flutter of a blue butterfly, the loud of a toucan, the chirping of a parakeet, the howl of a jaguar — all these are but the images and voices of an expanding web for Tukano chain of life.

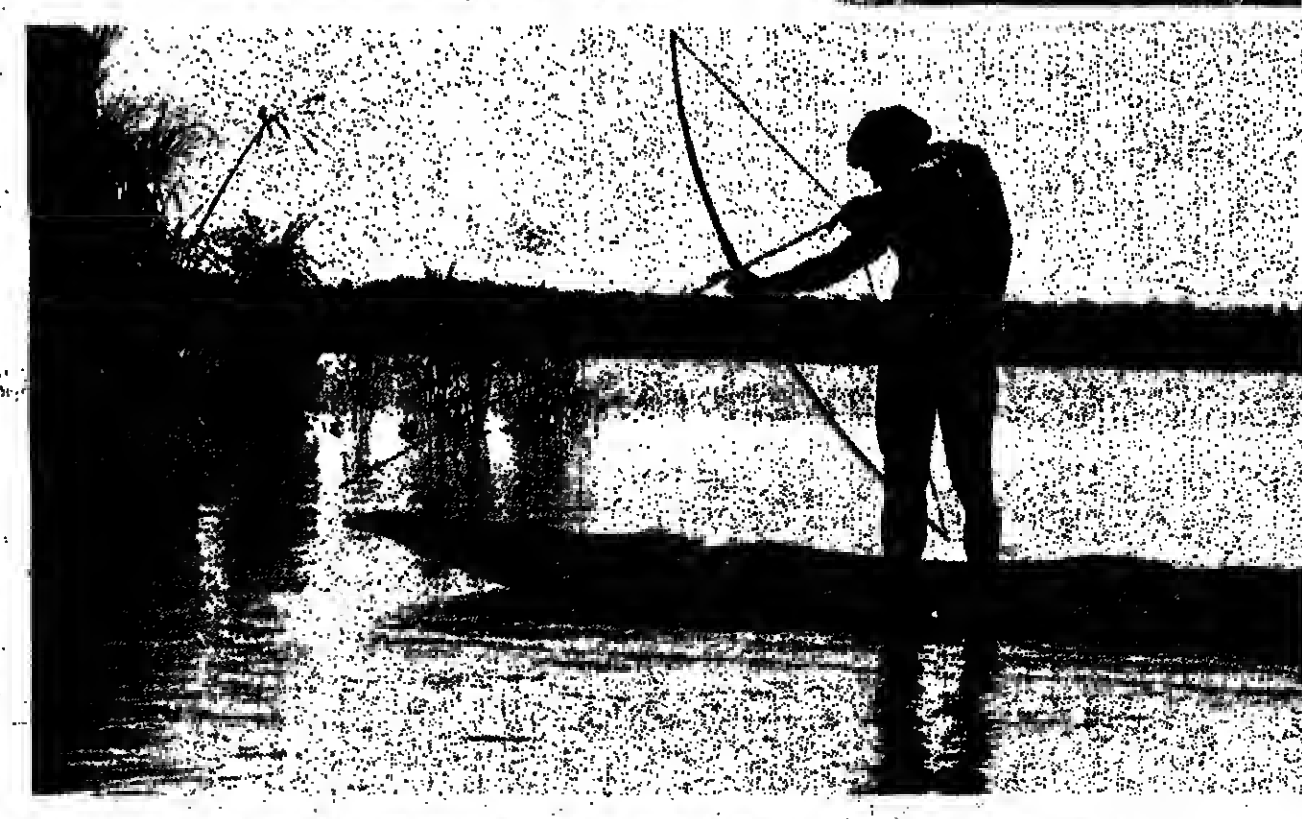
He reveals this to the two visitors who came to his village in a "strange bird with machete-skin." They suddenly themselves linked to the Indians' web. Banja's dance light is not for the tribe. It is for us, outsiders who to observe but now must participate.

Tukano chief ("paye") recites the history of his in a dance and chant around the ground where the Milky Way streaks across the night sky above. Squawks from two pet parrots mix into the sounds. Brown-faced children watch us with wide eyes from the fire's circle of light.

In the dance ends. The radio dies out, and the fire to glowing embers. The tiny Tukanos head for their beds to rest for tomorrow.



Banja's music: panpipe and turtle shell



Amazon silhouette: bow and arrow are still used for catching fish and game

sports

Thousands watch women's golf in an English rain

By John Allan May
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Sunningdale, England
Slowly (very slowly) but surely (just as surely) the whole picture for women's golf on this side of the Atlantic is being changed by the annual Colgate European LPGA Championship.

This time Judy Rankin, winner in the first "European Women's Open" in 1974, won again and by the proverbial street. Her four-round total of 281 was six better than that of her nearest competitor, Nancy Lopez.

Had you seen Judy on her final round, followed by a considerable crowd in the pouring rain, a slight figure dressed in pink with a floppy white rain hat and big round limited-appearance, neatly and efficiently "burning up the course" — she was "out" in 32 — you would immediately understand what I mean.

Five years ago you couldn't have got 30 people out in weather like this to watch women's golf, let alone several thousands.

But "the Colgate" has become an event. It gets good time on TV. The crowds roll up to

see more than 100 of the world's top women golfers. Mostly of course the players are from the United States. But this year there were four British professionals competing (for the first time in history), besides a score of British amateurs (seven of whom qualified for the final day).

Amateur champion Vanessa Marvin, who made a very good showing, allowed she would join the pro tour "when it comes over here." Top English player Jenny Lee Smith has turned pro and recently has won her player's card in the USA to join Michelle Walker. While pro "Viv" Saunders battles on here, no longer quite alone as she was before, lighting gallantly not only for women's golf but for women's rights.

It's interesting perhaps that just across the road from here is the "Sunningdale Ladies Golf Club" which this year is celebrating its diamond jubilee. The club has a short course of great character and charm. But it dates from a different day when women's golf was a thing apart and the idea of a female breaking 70 from the men's tees (as several did in "the Colgate") on "Sunningdale Old" was quite unthinkable.

Actually these days at the Sunningdale Ladies women play off the very back tees while male guests often play from the front, reversing the usual order. Women have to play from the back because if their beautiful miniature "ladies course" was 20 yards shorter overall it wouldn't qualify for handicap purposes as a golf course at all.

So do times change, and this European Open is markedly speeding up that process.

Sally Little of South Africa made a wise remark. She herself broke 70 twice during the tournament and finished third.

"What we are doing," she said "is proving that sport really is for everyone. Everyone, in his or her own way, is an athlete."

It was always a mystery why Joyce Wethered (Lady Heatcoat Amory) played such a superb game. She was the Bobby Jones of women's golf. She played Jones level once off the same tees and went around in 74 at his home course in Allamta to Bobby's 71.

But by now the mystery is solved. There's no reason at all why women shouldn't play really superb golf.

In men's golf strength does, of course, enter

into things at the top level. Judy Rankin would never hit the ball as far as Jim Dent. But for this very reason, women have to be closer to technical perfection than men to play the game at the top.

Very few men outside the top 20 pros would have beaten the first three or four at Sunningdale this year. And none would have shown better the meaning of technique.

Coming up toward the end of the teeming rain, Judy Rankin, bound to win, has, so to speak, nothing to play for except pride. At the 210-yard 15th she hit a superb tee shot straight at the flag but five yards short. Then she rammed in the putt.

She might have dropped three or more shots thereafter, but confined it to one. First at the 17th and then at the 18th she hit a wayward second, chipped short but with a firm, bold, confident stroke rapped the putts into the hole.

For this she won herself an extra \$1,000 for the best round of the day.

She was worth every cent of it.

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Connors wants to surpass tennis greats

here in the green hills of the Mount Washington Valley. "The setting, the relaxing atmosphere... for me to come here and play myself into shape is the best thing to do."

Connors came here nursing an injured thumb after a three-week lay-off. Before Forest Hills he will play in Indianapolis and Boston. He says he's satisfied the way his game is shaping up.

One thing he notes is the way today's "young Turks" come at him, like 19-year-old Werner Zingstl of Munich, who extended him to 7-6 in the first set of the second round before bowing 6-0 in the second set. "I remember how I used to get charged up when I came out of the juniors and would play somebody big. Today, I figured there was no way he could keep hitting those screaming passing shots like he was in the first set, or else I would be making flight plans out of here tomorrow."

As for Connors' future plans, he says he frankly would like to establish himself not just equal to, but better than, the greats of the past. But he wants to do it quicker than others have, perhaps retiring when he's 28 or 29. He still has fun or he wouldn't be playing, he says, but more and more he feels those "young Turks" on his tail.

Jimmy Connors

Why he likes the locker room empty

By L. Dana Galin
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

North Cooway, New Hampshire
At 24 years of age Jimmy Connors still has a hard time hanging onto his sweatsocks.

He finishes his match, and the kids behind the ropes shouting "Jimmy! Jimmy!" not only demand the obligatory autographs, they want clothes — sweatbands, sweatsocks, and sometimes more. But, as Connors told one teenybopper after handing her one used sock at the \$25,000 Volvo International here, "You've got to draw the line someplace."

And Connors does. He will talk about tennis almost as long as you want. How he feels about Forest Hills this year, about playing a limited number of tournaments versus regular appearances on the Grand Prix circuit, about where he sees himself in relationship to past tennis greats, about the direction of his career in the next five years.

And he will also field questions about his mental attitude in a relaxed, easy style. It's as if he recognizes all of this goes with the job of being a tennis-mad country's No. 1 tennis star. But surrounded by news-hungry reporters, he shows himself deftly able to fend off questions about his personal life and non-tennis business plans.

For the first couple of days of this tourney, for example, he was able to receive a visit from Chris Evert, once his fiancée but no longer, fly her back to Boston in on acquaintance's private plane, and avoid commenting about any of it.

He also talks about thoroughly enjoying "business" and making some now investments, carefully declining to say what those investments are. In short, he is as much at home returning questions as he is to serve.

On next month's U.S. championships at Forest Hills, "I really think it's going to tell it all this year. Everybody's got a grip. [Gillermo] Vilas won the French championship [and the Washington Star and Louisville tourneys]. I won the WCT [World Championship Tennis] title and was runner-up in Wimbledon. [Bjorn] Borg won Wimbledon [the] Nastase gripes because he hasn't been playing."

Well, says "Jimbo," questions as to which tournaments count more in trying to measure supremacy will pale after two weeks in the late summer sun of New York. "Nobody's going to give in," he says.

"In any two-week event the demand is not so much physical as it is mental. I happen to like it when the locker room is empty," he says referring to the pressure of playing in the final of the Washington Star match. "It means you're into the final."

With all the hassles Forest Hills has been known for — and also for which this will be the last year at the old site — Connors says he likes the tourney the way it is.

"They shouldn't move the Open. It's a zoo around there, but it would be any place." He would like perhaps to see a court surface favoring Americans over Europeans "because it's our championship — perhaps hard courts or back to grass — but he doesn't make a big deal of it."

"My game was molded to hard courts, and I suppose deep down they're my favorite. But I think in the last three or four years I've molded my game to all surfaces," he says. And, he adds, so have all the top pros.

On whether someone like Vilas, who plays regularly in Grand Prix tournaments, is undergoing more of a true championship test than a player like Connors, who played in 38 tournaments last year: "I think that's great if Vilas wants to play in 35 tournaments a year. But the thing for me is to get to the final of an event consistently, then rest."

"If I'm not a worthy champion, just don't take my titles away. I don't want to be burned out when I'm 25. What counts is being consistent."

And it is obvious he is talking about winning, not playing.

Connors likes a tournament such as the Volvo, now in its fifth season

home

Mulch: security blanket for your garden

By Peter Tonge
Weymouth, Massachusetts

I've been spreading the word around this past week — the printed word, that is. By that I mean I have taken to using the daily newspaper for the initial layer in my weed-defeating, heat-beating, moisture conserving, soil-building garden program.

That's right, a good organic mulch does all that and more. And for the city gardener, lacking the almost limitless quantities of spoiled hay available to his country cousin, the daily newspaper is a pretty good mulch substitute.

Mulching, in fact, is a practice invariably carried out in nature — that of always covering bare soil with grass, leaves, twigs, etc. And because of the benefits, increasing numbers of gardeners are taking a leaf out of nature's book and doing the same sort of thing in the backyard.

Evaporation cut

Mulching makes dry-weather gardening possible because it drastically cuts down on evaporation; keeps summer soil temperatures tolerable to surface roots; can be applied so that it smothers weeds that compete for moisture and nutrients; saves time because it all but eliminates the need to cultivate; prevents wind and water erosion; and slowly builds up soil fertility and structure as it decays.

If that's not enough, consider, too, what mulching does in the cooler periods of the year. In the autumn it retains soil heat weeks longer than does exposed soil, allowing frost-resistant crops to continue growing

apace; allows for the in-ground storage of hardy root crops all winter long, and finally makes possible the year-round cultivating activity of the earthworm.

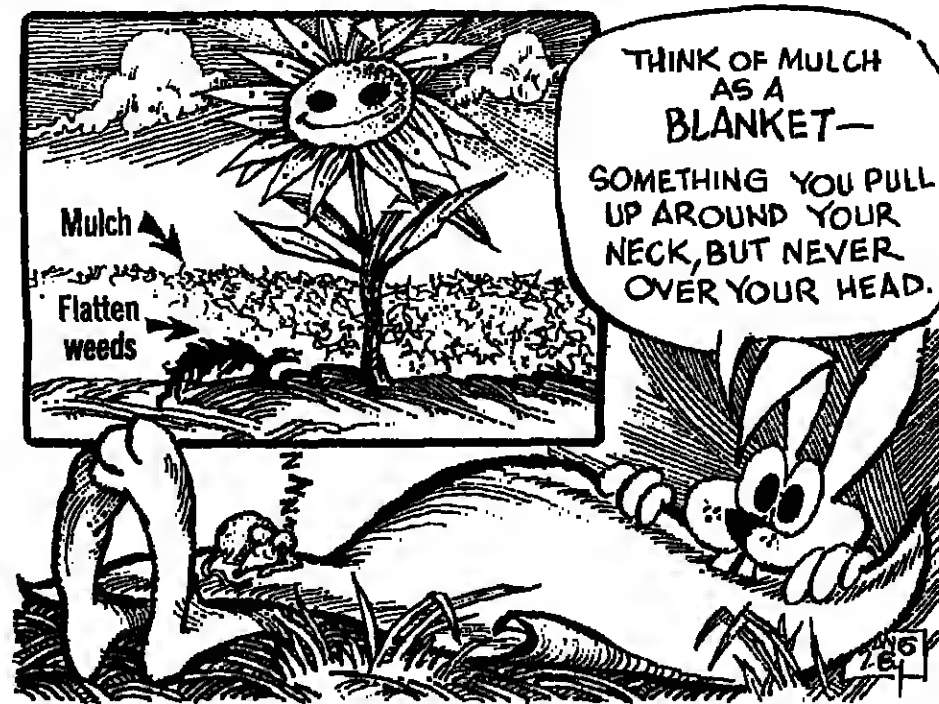
Papering the paths

Currently, I'm laying down newspaper (10 or more pages thick) on the paths between my vegetable beds. Then I cover these with shredded leaves, grass, and the like, simply because I prefer the look of leaves to paper. On the beds I spread shredded leaves directly on the soil, several inches thick, between the vegetable plants. But should I run short of leaves, I shall start with a newspaper layer there, too.

I heard recently of some newcomers to gardening who complained about mulching. It killed their plants, they said. Apparently they had misread the instructions and covered the plants with mulching materials, thereby smothering them along with the weeds.

Instead, think of a mulch as a blanket — something you pull up around your neck but never over your head. In other words, let the plants grow a little and then draw the mulch several inches thick in around the stems, leaving the leaves above the mulch in the fresh air and sunlight. In contrast, flatten down the weeds and cover them with the mulch.

Just last fall I extended a flower bed by covering the neighboring sod with a layer of newspaper topped by three inches of shredded leaves and grass clippings. No grass, not a single blade, poked through the mulch this spring. All we had to do



was make holes in the mulch and set out the new plants. That's how effective the mulch is as a weed or grass killer.

Fall is a good time to gather in the leaves for next year's mulching materials. But without quantities of last year's leaves, what do we do now?

First, make a list of good mulching materials: weeds, grass, hay, corn cobs, wood shavings, sawdust, coffee grounds,

old manure, cocoa bean shells, etc. Next, use the yellow pages of your telephone directory to see if there are possible suppliers in your area — lumber companies, mills, tanneries, stables, etc. Simple telephone inquiries will tell you all you need to know.

Now go ahead. Put your garden to bed — under a blanket of mulch. You'll be glad you did.

Leeks — underground secret of French cooking

By Phyllis Hanes
Food editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

Don't let a bunch of leeks intimidate you. If you've never cooked them and have never had them in your garden, they might look a bit forbidding.

Just think of them as another kind of onion and you'll have a better idea how to handle them.

Cooks of many countries appreciate the long, green and white plant with its mild onion flavor. They are probably one of the world's oldest vegetables. They were grown years ago in Egypt and are still grown there.

So hardy and so easily grown, leeks are simple food that grow in cold climates. Leeks fed the English, the Welsh, and Irish, and the Danes during rugged times.

Leeks were a poor man's food in Europe until the French gave them class. Now they are essential in many French dishes, soups, as a side dish, braised, boiled, or even chilled. They are easy to grow but take a long time, about 130 to 150 days. They last well in the

ground, however, without losing quality and they like cool weather.

Until I grew them in my community garden, I didn't think much about them except as an ingredient for vichyssoise, which I liked to eat, but didn't often make. Now I can use leeks for many kinds of soups as well as a vegetable on their own.

The best part of the leek is the bulbous white end and the lower stalk — in other words, the white part. On home-grown leeks, especially the young ones, more of the top green part is tender and edible than on most market leeks.

Vichyssoise: leeks specialty

Most cooks trim off all green outer leaves before cooking, but I like to keep some of the green, just for looks. When you buy your leeks at the market, you'll notice that the root ends have been cut off. This means that the leek can get dehydrated or dry sooner than if they were left on.

Most Americans know of leeks because of their importance in Louis Diat's vichyssoise, the cold cream soup this chef introduced to the public in New York City over 60 years ago. A French chef who introduced many specialties while at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel, he said vichyssoise came of humble origin: it was his mother's leek and potato soup.

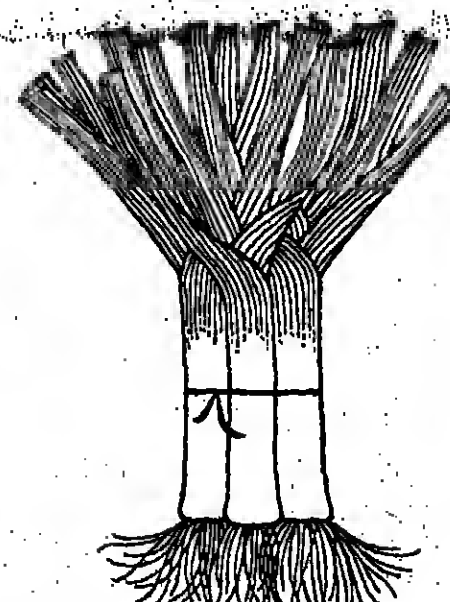
Remembering how his mother would cool his breakfast soup on a warm morning by adding cold milk to it, he added a cup of cream, a sprinkling of chives, and had a new cold soup recipe. He named it after Vichy, the famous spa located near his home in France, as a tribute to the region.

Versatile leeks

Called a French-American soup, vichyssoise roams along with Scotland's cockle leekie and the French Potage à la bonne femme, three of the many excellent soups made with this vegetable as a vital ingredient.

Leeks are so delicate in flavor that they can be cooked by themselves, boiled or braised with plain butter or herbs, baked in a shallow dish with white sauce or au gratin, or served with sauces such as Hollandaise, Mouseline, or Vinaigrette.

Leeks are splendid in soups and stews, but be sure to add them at the end of cooking if you want them to hold some kind of shape.



They are also excellent in skillet and stir-fry dishes, sliced in rounds. Add them to any dish for a mild onion-like flavor.

This easy vichyssoise should be served cold with a generous garnish of chopped chives.

Easy Vichyssoise

6 medium potatoes
6 medium leeks
2 quarts chicken stock (or more)
1/2 cup cream
Salt, pepper to taste
Fresh chives, chopped

Simmer together in stock the peeled, chopped vegetables with salt and pepper, for about 45 minutes. Put mixture through a food mill or blender. Cool, chill well in refrigerator, then add cream. Serve in cold soup cups or bowls, garnished with lots of chopped chives. Good hot also.

Trimming and cleaning leeks is slightly different from peeling an onion. One thing you'll like immediately is that there's no pungent, tear-producing aroma.

Trim off the root ends. Cut off green tops to within 1 1/2 inches of the white stalk. Wash thoroughly to remove sand. If there is a lot of sand

or soil between the leaves, you may want to slice the leek lengthwise and pry apart each section. Wash under cold running water. This spoils the appearance if you are braising or cooking the leeks whole, but it isn't always necessary.

After washing the whole leek, slice the white part and the pale green, tender tops into 1/2-inch crosswise slices. Wash again.

Here is a versatile recipe for leeks to be served as a vegetable. Serve plain, as in this recipe, or add 1 teaspoon chopped fresh tarragon, top with a mild cheese and brown under the broiler. As a salad, cook as follows, then chill and serve with a vinaigrette dressing.

Braised Leeks

12 leeks, white part only
2 cups beef broth
3 tablespoons parsley
1/4 teaspoon salt
Freshly ground pepper to taste

Cut each leek in lengthwise sections. Wash carefully under cold running water and place in kettle. Add broth and bring to a boil. Cover and reduce to a simmer. Cook for 20 to 30 minutes, until tender. Drain and season leeks.

African violets: one becomes many

By Jeanne King
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

With one sturdy African violet it is easy to increase your supply in a few months. If you are willing to settle for one color, then you need purchase only a single plant.

African violets grow in two different ways, either from a single or a multiple crown. The easiest way to reproduce the single-crown violet is to pick a single leaf down close to the soil and place it in a small container of water. You must make sure the leaf itself is not submerged and that the jars are placed in light, warm, indoor areas. They should not be placed in direct sunlight.

Multiple-crowned plants may be reproduced

through rooting of leaves too, but with them there is also another possibility. Simply pull away the seedlings smuggled into a cluster, making sure you have some roots clinging to each of the divisions. These can be planted right away and are quicker to take hold than the leaf-sprouting method.

The best soil to use for planting is the packaged, indoor variety. There is one especially blended for violets, but any good mix will do.

After your violets are well established, begin to fertilize them about once a month during spring, summer, and fall but never during the winter. You can get various kinds of liquid or pill fertilizers. Fish emulsion is good. Temper your fertilizing practices with reason, however. Do not feed them right after they have bloomed and never fertilize newly potted or sick plants.

people



A parlormaid remembers:

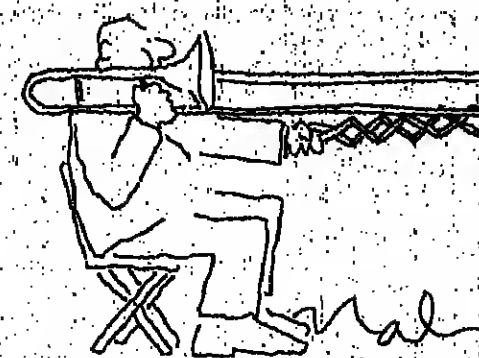
Galsworthy's life as a country squire

By Peter E. Martin
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Bury, West Sussex, England
When John Galsworthy, known to millions of television viewers from Russia to Zanzibar as the author of "The Forsyte Saga," decided to buy a house in the country in 1925, he earmarked £3,000 for the purpose. He ended up paying £9,000. The reason: The British novelist took a liking to Bury House, a mansionlike residence on the edge of the Downland village of Bury in West Sussex.

Bury House was a residence worthy of any aspiring country squire. Accordingly, Galsworthy took up the appropriate pursuits—cricket, riding, tennis, and croquet. He hired a staff of three parlormaid and five gardeners. The novelist and his wife, Ada, were fond of entertaining at Bury. On summer weekends such literary luminaries as Joseph Conrad, Hugh Walpole, John Drinkwater, Gilbert Murray (the foremost Greek scholar of his time), J. M. Barrie (author of "Peter Pan"), actor and playwright Granville Barker, and Arnold Bennett would descend on the house. The latter estimated that Galsworthy had 10 million blooms at his Sussex home.

Bury House still stands today. It is used by the West Sussex County Council as a home for old-age pensioners. Tea in its dark parlour have replaced drinks on the smooth-shaven lawn.



Some of Galsworthy's devoted staff still live in the village, such as Joan Dean, who joined the household as a parlormaid when she was 18. Eventually she was joined on the staff by her two sisters, one of whom became the cook—an important job on the weekends when Galsworthy regaled guests with five course meals.

Along with other villagers who remember the famous writer, she particularly recalls his interest in the village and his remarkable generosity. She used to bear 10-shilling bills every Friday to several of the more impoverished villagers; then there were the Christmas gifts of £3 or more, and £5 to the staff on their birthdays. When Mrs. Dean's sister got married, Galsworthy gave the happy couple £50—a mean gift in those days—and a house which he built on his land. He also built another house for the district nurse, who at the time was without a permanent residence.

Cricket skill recalled

On the recreational side, Galsworthy avidly patronized the Bury cricket team, not only joining in and playing with them (fairly skillfully, according to Mrs. Dean's husband, Jack, who also played), but also seeing to it that the grounds were kept in good order. Since Galsworthy, his publisher also had a cricket team, Galsworthy arranged matches in Bury between them and the village team, followed up with delicious lunches of cold chicken, ham, new potatoes, salads, and drinks served in the gar-

dens of Bury House. On end off the cricket pitch, "he joined in just like one of us," Jack Dean observes. His eminent guests seem to have been content just to watch.

For further exercise, Galsworthy went riding on the Downs, the soft undulating hills that follow the coastline across southern Sussex. He always took his dogs (five or six at any given time) and rode frequently with his nephew, Rudolf Sauter, who lived in Bury House with his wife and helped run it.

The Downs meant very much to Galsworthy. He could look out of his study window at them and the view refreshed him when he was laboring on manuscripts. It was at Bury House that he wrote "The Silver Spoon" and "Swan Song," extending the history of the Forsytes into the trivial affairs of Fleur and her husband, Michael Mont, and the return to England of her old lover, Jon Forsyte and his wife.

Was life too plush?

Whether it was because in 1927 he had killed off Soames, the character who had fired his indignation and imagination in the earlier novels, or whether the self-satisfied and respectable life he led at Bury dulled his creative powers, Galsworthy's writings after moving to Sussex reveal a definite loss of creative energy. Mrs. Dean relates how on one occasion Galsworthy sent the staff up to London to see his new play, "The Road." "We liked it well enough," she



Top left: Bury House, drawn by Dorothy Cooke, where Galsworthy entertained literary luminaries on summer weekends and often wrote with a favorite dog at his feet (above). The novelist played for the Bury cricket team, in photograph at left he is attending at the center of the back row wearing a straw hat. Photographs courtesy of Edward Grinstead.

says, "but they took it off before very long."

Another inspiration for Galsworthy's writing was his wife, whom he first loved while she was married to his cousin. She was to some extent his model for Irene, Soames's wife. While he flourished at Bury, she did not. William Henly, Galsworthy's head gardener and chauffeur, who still lives in the village, observes that while the novelist was frequently to be seen walking down to the River Arun, where Bob Dutton the ferryman sold soft drinks and "did" teas, she was rarely seen outside the Bury House grounds.

Since all provisions were bought by a neta from Edward Grinstead's grocery shop in the village and elsewhere, she had no need to venture outside. Neither did she participate in recreation or amusements in the village.

When her husband died in 1933 it was not much over a year before she sold Bury House. Galsworthy was devoted to her, however. Mrs. Dean remembers how evening after evening she played the piano for him as he listened raptly with his Alsatian stretched out over his feet.

Enriched by the presence of so many eminent writers and scholars, the quiet village of Bury became a sort of "Camelot" in the '20s and early '30s, achieving fulfillment when Galsworthy was awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1933, the news of which he learned, characteristically, while playing croquet on a warm November day.

environment

Cloud seeding: 70% more rain for thirsty farms

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Boston
Farmers in Florida have some of the clearest evidence yet that cloud seeding can be made to work.

Analysis of 1976 experiments, reported last month by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), show that seeding gets 70 percent more rainfall out of the cumulus clouds and thunderheads that regularly float across the state than such clouds yielded on nonseeding days.

"I expect the potential lies somewhere between the low of 20 percent rainfall increase suggested by some earlier experiments and the 70 percent shown in 1976," says NOAA deputy project director Robert Sax.

If the effectiveness of such seeding holds up in further testing, NOAA project officials believe they will be well on their way to an operational seeding strategy that could substantially benefit farmers and water supply systems that depend at least partly on cumulus clouds for rainfall.

If that hope is realized, it will be only the second practical rainmaking strategy to come out of three decades of cloud-seeding research. Although there have been many claims of success, especially by commercial rainmakers, few of these have been proved to the satisfaction of meteorologists.

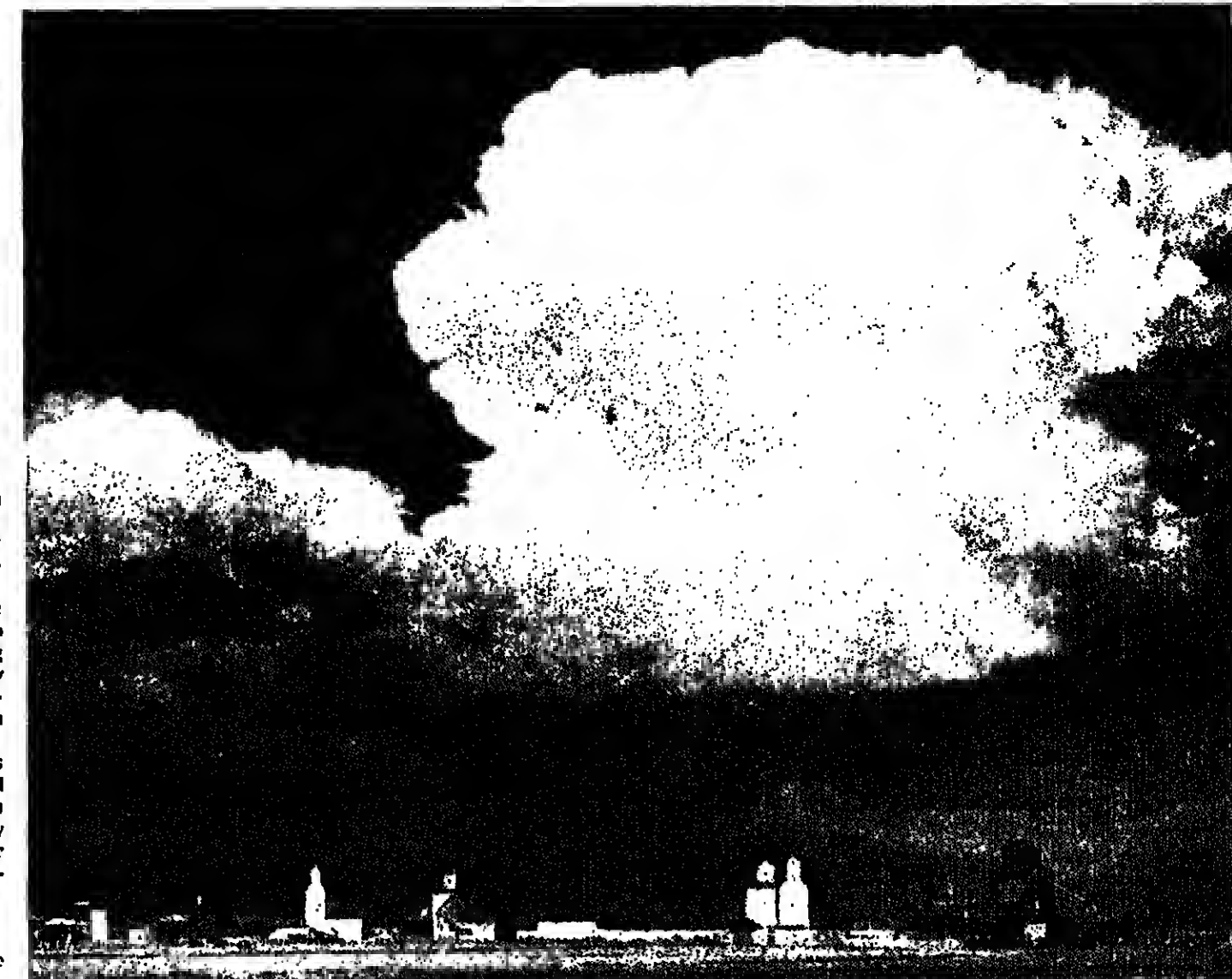
Right now, the consensus of experts is that clouds lifting over mountains (so-called orographic cloud systems) can be made to yield extra rain or snow. Also, seeding may have some positive effect on certain winter storms. But that's all that weather modification scientists promise so far.

Different situation tested

NOAA experimenters in Florida are working with a quite different weather situation. They are seeding cumulus clouds that often develop into thunderstorms (the so-called convective cloud systems) — hence the name of their project, Florida Area Cumulus Experiment, or FACE. Such systems are important rain suppliers in many parts of the United States besides Florida, especially for Midwestern, "bread basket" farmland.

Aware that it has been hard in the past to prove that seeded clouds would not have rained anyway, or that there was a net rainfall gain, FACE officials are cautious in evaluating their success.

Mr. Sax says results of earlier tests showed the percentage of extra rainfall ep-



Cumulus clouds just ripe for seeding

arently due to seeding was much lower and less well demonstrated than the new results.

Project director William L. Woodley says the 1976 results show little likelihood that the clouds would have rained anyway.

Clouds warmed

He says the results also show that on the target area, a 5,000 square-mile rectangle south of Lake Okeechobee, seeding increased rainfall throughout the area.

FACE operates on the theory that seed-

ing cumulus clouds warms the cloud system, thereby increasing the buoyancy of the rising air and strengthening the clouds' convection. The enhanced vigor produces more rain. Heat comes from freezing of supercooled water droplets. Although liquid, these droplets are below their freezing temperature. Seeding with silver iodide crystals, that act as nuclei for ice formation, induces rapid freezing and release of the "latent" heat that water always gives up when it turns to ice.

Dr. Sax says that part of the spectacular

success of the 1976 experiments probably is due to the fact that the project switched to a more efficient seeding mechanism. Now project officials want to run a substantially larger series of trials over the next five years, both to test such improved seeding techniques and to pin down the real potential of their rainmaking strategy.

Dr. Sax says it is his personal opinion that "in the long run there is a technique here that will be valuable. Nobody's going to break a drought with it. But it will be very useful for rainfall enhancement."

Migrating birds may find their way with a built-in compass

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Scientists have long thought that birds can use Earth's magnetism to find their way.

Laboratory tests have shown that some birds can sense quite weak magnetic forces. And studies of free-flying migrants suggest there may indeed be some kind of avian "compass" at work.

Now Frank R. Moore of Clemson University in South Carolina has found what he calls "the first direct visual evidence" that small fluctuations in Earth's normal magnetism affect birds' navigation.

He has analyzed data from spring and fall

migrations taken for the years 1968 to 1974 by S. A. Gauthreaux Jr. These show the birds losing accuracy in orientation during magnetic storms.

This recalls comparable disorientation of migrants caused by man-made interference with the natural magnetic field that was reported earlier in the year by Ronald P. Larkin and Patricia J. Sutherland of Rockefeller University in New York. In this case, the scientists tracked migrating birds by radar as they passed through a low frequency antenna beam over the U.S. Navy's Wisconsin Test Facility (WTF). It was part of environmental studies made for the controversial (and currently suspended) Seafarer project to build a submarine

communication facility in northern Michigan. The WTF, located in Chequamegon National Forest, is the test site for the project.

When the antenna was broadcasting, Drs. Larkin and Sutherland found that the weak electromagnetic disturbance seemed to be sensed by the birds and to affect their navigation. The researchers reported in Science that it looked as though "some birds" can detect low-intensity magnetic changes within a few seconds and that "... birds may make use of local (10 to 1,000 km) magnetic features of the Earth's surface."

Dr. Moore, who also described his research in Science, says there's still not enough evidence to tell whether birds use magnetic clues

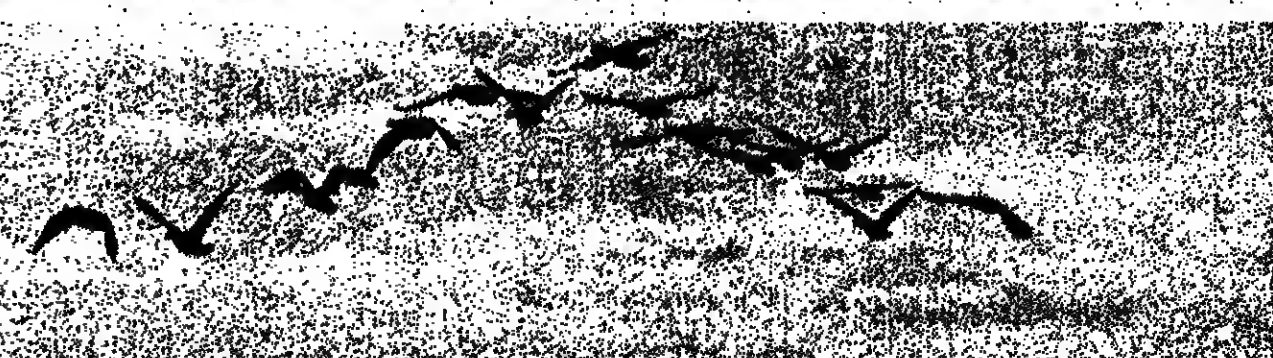
directly or whether the magnetism is linked to some other as yet unidentified effect that provides the actual guidance. Indeed, he notes, disturbing the magnetic field may simply upset the functioning of the bird's normal navigational system.

In spite of his reservations, Dr. Moore's results do strengthen the evidence that birds have a "compass."

Michael A. Bookman at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology reported in May (in Nature) that laboratory tests show homing pigeons have a sharp sensitivity to weak magnetism and respond quickly when a field is turned on. In this work, Dr. Bookman uses magnetism as the cue for finding food. The birds quickly learned to use that cue to pick out the right feeding box.

Last year, Wolfgang and Roswitha Wiltschko at the University of Frankfurt (Germany) showed that European robins can use what appears to be some sort of compass to map the stars. They worked under an artificial starry night sky in a room shielded from Earth's magnetic field. With no magnetism, the birds hopped and perched randomly. But when a magnet was switched on to simulate Earth's field, they hopped with a bias toward north.

The birds then continued to do this even when the magnet was turned off. Somehow, they used their magnetic sense to mark the orientation of stars, thus turning the star field into a kind of map.



Canada geese with a definite destination in mind

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

arts/books

The grand theater art of Peter Paul Rubens

By Christopher Andree

London
Peter Paul Rubens would have been 400 years old this June 28. And what an art historians' paradise of intricately related borrowings and copyings and preparations and studies and compositional ideas he would probably have propagated with his corpus of drawings in those four centuries.

As it is, his actual 33 years (and he didn't waste much of it) has provided a plentiful digging-ground for scholarly ingenuity: the detailed work that has been done by the British Museum's John Rowlands pulling together the current anniversary exhibition there (until October 30) is admirably scrupulous. More than 200 drawings and oil sketches are on view. Doubtfully authentic works have been largely excluded.

Here is a show — mostly from the museum's own rich collection, but with loans from other parts of Britain and overseas — which provides a marvelous opportunity to form a close acquaintance with the intimate workings of the great Flemish

Art review

17th-century painter's art. The catalog, which reproduces every work shown, and has discussions, frequently long, on virtually all of them, is almost as good as being there.

The only catch is that Peter Paul Rubens was not really an intimate artist. His art is generally large and public. His pictures are supreme baroque theater — although it is theater of the most convincing vitality. Most of his drawings reflect this — sometimes showing how his vast compositions were developed (once or twice how they were initially conceived) and even indicating the thorough-going manner in which he had them "publicized" by means of prints.

Methods indicated

In other words, unlike the drawings of many old masters, Rubens gives an insight into the methods of his production, rather than in the more secret stirrings of his mind. There are marvelous exceptions — some in this exhibition — but most of his drawings, however original or exploratory, perform a function.

Once the viewer accepts this lack of self-disclosure, though, the drawings can in fact tell us a great deal about his art. They tell us not only what he owed to a Leonardo like the "Battle of Anghiari," but also how he transformed this archetype into his own unbelievably energetic, tortuous, interwoven dramas, such as the two thrilling oil sketches for his "Lion Hunt" on view here.

They tell us how he built up a collection of copies after antique coins, medals, cameos, and sculpture; how he did the same after the Italian masters, but also on occasion after fellow Northern artists. This exhibition includes one after Elsheimer, and another after the earlier Bruegel the Elder. They are never slavish imitations, but re-creations, which served him as adaptable suggestions.

Superb chalk studies

In a number of drawings shown he affected this sort of take-over by actually retouching (for enrichment or preservation or as a territorial imperative?) the studies of other artists. Later



'Martyrdom of St. Paul' — oil over chalk

In his career, when he had a large studio of assistants, he worked similarly over copies of his own works, breathing life and cohesion into them, for the engravers to use as models.

It was for his assistants that he also made some of the finest drawings in the exhibition: closely observed chalk studies of live models, brought to a considerable degree of completion, so that his assistants knew precisely what he wanted them to do in the final painting. An example is a study for a figure of "Christ on the Cross": it is full of vigor and is far more triumphant than suffering. It unites his debt to the Renaissance, his own exultant vitality, and his sensitive capacity for observation.

A study for the figure of Psyche is of the same type (this one connected with a known work): it is almost Raphaelesque in its felicitous, quiet modeling. Rubens here used a male model; he evidently rarely used a female one. Considering the authenticity of women in his paintings this seems nothing short of extraordinary. Perhaps it indicates, though, the extent to which his art is derived from the study of other art.

It is a question as to whether the studies of Daniel and the Lions are studies from life: the marvelously rope-tied, sinewy lioness, so life-like, may well have been drawn from a bronze sculpture. Even the Daniel (lent by the Pierpont Morgan Li-



Chalk sketch for 'Daniel in the Lions' Den'

brary in New York), yearning in a slightly desperate state of hand-clasped prayer, though probably drawn from a model, is also based on an engraving by Cornelius Cort.

Few oil sketches

There aren't many oil sketches in the exhibition, which is a pity: in these the opulence and fecundity of Rubens is really displayed. But there are a few stunning drawings which are not simply in the pipeline between first notion and final work: they are classed as peripheral in his oeuvre — just happily made for the pleasure of the artist and his family. Some of them are of his family — his children, his first or second wife. There is a wonderful drawing of Isabella Brant, alive with knowing and affectionate, wisely amusement, and another of Helena Fourment, light in touch, superbly sensitive. These show Rubens bringing all his manual skill and responsiveness to bear on a subject that he loved.

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Thoroughly modern Malta

By Sheridan L. Garth
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Malta

The traveler who remembers Malta before its independence from Britain in 1964 will find that it is a place of life has quickened.

Modern Malta now has traffic jams. Taxis prevail for all local transport. Small-size cars are taxing the roads with their numbers and speed, while broken-down hacks have taken to the back roads.

A modern thoroughway has also come in the ancient city. Leading straight from the swanky hotels and seafaring apartments of St. Julian's, it cuts across viaducts, through a double tunnel (built as a gift by the Chinese), then swoops down in the traffic nexus of Mdina on the outskirts of Valetta.

This boon to motorists has given an impetus to new hotels catering to the tourist trade. They have located themselves outside Valetta, far from the magnificent harbor, in order to elude the breeze-swept north-shore promenade near St. Julian's and Sliema. The speedway provides easy access to the airport of Luqa through which the overwhelming majority of Malta's visitors arrive from all parts of nearby Europe.

However, tradition has preserved a small group of horse carriages, or karozzins, which act as taxis for the leisurely or the romantically minded. Yet they now serve mainly in and near Valetta, as increasing auto traffic is driving them from the streets in other areas.

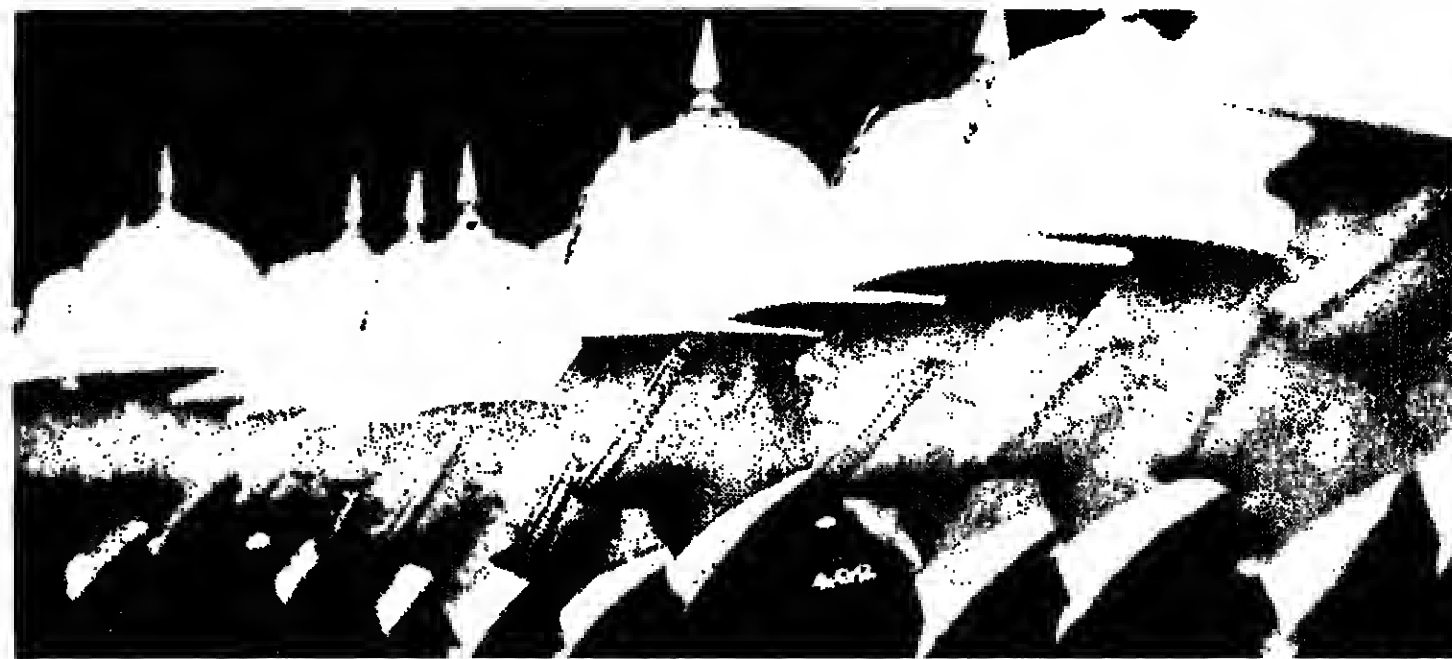
Malta's gondolas — the sleek, dghajjas — poled by muscular oarsmen, have now retreated entirely from the Grand Harbor. They now can be seen on nostalgic postcards and in other more untroubled locations.

Stately cruise ships, bringing hundreds of tourists, still steam into the glorious and once strategic Grand Harbor. When my own liner, the Royal Viking Star, entered Valetta's bay recently, five other ships, one of them also from the United States, had already reached anchor, and their launches were buzzing merrily shoreward.

While strolling along the quiet back bay of Mareamxell, we were regaled with the sight of thickly clustered cabin cruisers and yachts moored side by side; origin: most of the countries of Europe.

Postcards on sale along the Kingsway in the walled capital city of Valetta show the fleets of Maltese buses painted in bright reds, yet they're actually green. It must have been quite a paint job, for there are scores of these buses.

Penetrating inland aboard a very crowded omnibus we passed through venerable towns not close to each other because of Malta's population of 330,000 (on only 222 square miles). We saw stores featuring the



As smart as a row of British bobbies: Maltese police on parade

By James R. Holland

world's finest household goods. Doorways of private homes bore the brass dolphin-shaped knob that has long been traditional. Cars and trucks replaced the many horse-drawn carriages of earlier days.

The Maltese, I noticed, were all well dressed — the young folks as fashionable as their cousins on the European mainland. And Malta's once distinctive "faldettas," the black, folded cloth older women used to wear, have disappeared entirely. Only on postcards can this finery now be admired.

Alighting at the ancient harbor of St. Paul's Bay, my wife and I were charmed by the traditional view where St. Paul saw "two seas met." Its tiny stone-walled harbor looked almost as it did when Paul was here. Brightly painted dghajjas bobbed up and down on the green water. Fishermen, waiting out the chilly northern breeze, worked at mending their nets.

Yet the backdrop of this restful scene could not be ignored — a massive, many-legged platform anchored out in the bay, topped with cranes and engines. This gigantic apparatus was positioned there to repair various kinds of motors because there was no room for it in Valetta's Grand Harbor.

Back in Valetta, Malta's mighty walled capital, built to repel the Turks and Barbary pirates, the changes were less noticeable. Yet the historic arched entry gateway penetrating these bastions was in the process of being rebuilt to provide an entrance for traffic. At its side, a shopping pavilion is being constructed to house the tourist bureau, government-sponsored shops filled with the finest of the old-time Maltese crafts, and other stores catering to tourists.

Shop windows facing narrow Republic Street (which every Maltese referred to by its original name of Kingsway) were filled with souvenirs. The stately mansions of the national branches of the Knights of Malta, the erstwhile defenders of the island, are now either museums or government offices. The sumptuous

place of the Grand Masters, antedating the British regime, now is turned over in the bureaucracy of the Independent Island government, except for the marvelous Armory displaying coats of mail, helmets, maces, pikes, swords, and halberds, used by both the Knights of Malta and their Turkish besiegers during the defense of the island in 1565.

Facing the palace across the stately plaza, the onetime governor's office of British days now sports a grandiose sign proclaiming it the embassy of Malta's close friend and benefactor, Libya, only 180 miles to the south.

Modern music playing in all taxis, modern garb on everyone in sight, everything well painted, seem to indicate the absence of the old-time unemployment (down to 4,000 we were told, with immigrants not allowed to stay if they have no prearranged job). Shipyards in the Grand Harbor were also busy, repairing many freighters, some of them Russian.

Modern Malta is boosting its ancient Semitic

language, yet everyone we met spoke and understood English as well. Policemen, janitors, taxi and karozzin drivers, kids, passers-by, old folks squeezing into the buses with us, all answered our questions readily.

Malta is prospering in new 20th-century tempo. The oil wealth of ally Libya is often credited with the easier money that provides the spiffy new cars, widespread jobs, solvent independent government, as well as keeping the value of the Maltese pound at a high \$2.40.

To Malta fans like myself, it seems sad that one delightful item has been discarded in the rush to modernize: the stately outdoor elevator that once lifted visitors up the lovely Barracca gardens high over Valetta's crisscrossed walls. "Who would use it?" a policeman asked me when I protested seeing it closed and idle. "After all, except tourists who come by air, everyone has cars, and how many airborne tourists come these days to the edge of the Grand Harbor?"

Beat-up Navy town is showplace

By George Moneyman
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York

Plains, Georgia, isn't the only spot in the Sun Belt drawing a lot of "Yankee" tourists these days.

The self-talking, easy-smiling Mayor of Norfolk, Virginia, Vincent J. Thomas, traveled to New York City recently to spread the good word that his once beat-up old Navy town — during World War II notorious as a collection of saloons and tattoo parlors for off-duty sailors — is becoming a showplace.

What the southeastern Virginia port has started collecting instead are tourist dollars — some \$108 million last year, as compared with \$93 million the previous year and \$81 million five years ago.

Without a Billy Cart to enliven interest in their old city, however, Mayor Thomas says with a smile, residents had to embark on what he calls a "self-grit" program which has completely transformed Norfolk's waterfront into a complex of modern hotels, marinas, restaurants, boutiques, high-rise apartments, and a

\$35 million convention and cultural center. "Everyone talks about the Sun Belt explosion in terms of industrial expansion," says the Mayor, "yet the fact is that visitors now spend \$21 billion a year in the South."

At a time when many cities both north and south have been struggling to survive economically, Norfolk was able to make a comeback by aggressively taking advantage of federal programs such as community development and revenue sharing. "I don't look to the federal government to solve all our problems," says Mayor Thomas, "but we do need help over the long range."

Norfolk had the same budget problems as other cities — although not of the same magnitude as, say, New York City's — and is still trying to close a \$10 million budget gap. However, what the city has going for it is a double A bond rating and some big natural assets — including a huge natural harbor, a city surrounded by sea on three sides, 15 miles of sandy beaches along the Chesapeake Bay, and homes dating back to 1636.

The reconstruction of Norfolk, brought about by federal urban renewal funds, has prompted private developers to invest in high-rise office and bank buildings. Norfolk's long history also for the first time is successfully being marketed to tourists. The city has built a \$40 million air terminal; and an additional \$100 million redevelopment project has recently been launched which officials expect to further enhance Norfolk's new image as a tourist mecca.

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'Possession': a tour de force

Possession, by Nicholas Delbanco. New York: William Morrow and Company, \$8.95. London: Chatto & Windus £2.50 paperback.

By Frederick Norrell, serious novels with a twist. They are getting to be a subcategory of American fiction in the '70s. It is as if writers were recognizing the increasing percentage of the U.S. population that is elderly. Or perhaps their sophisticated are handy representatives of a century just

Books

as old as they are. Certainly such characters have been used to spin and distill ranges of 20th-century experience by Wallace Stenger ("The Spectator Bird"), John Gardner ("October Light"), and now the less widely known but distinctively skilful Nicholas Delbanco,

whose "Possession" follows his novel of middle age, "Small Rain."

Here, with a compact storehouse of antique and contemporary observation, Mr. Delbanco contrasts several generations. Apart from a third reliance on sexual imagery, the result is a small tour de force blending the events of one April day with ornate letters from the far past, splintered memories, and nagging dreams in a way almost as demanding on the reader as on the writer.

At the center is Judah Sherbrooke, born with the century, trying to capture back his estranged wife, the "only" prized possession among his holdings of farm-land and buildings in Vermont. She is 25 years his junior, and their son, with a kind of asymmetry, is a quarter of a century younger still. They represent creative, ar-

tistic, and social impulses, whose Judah is all literalness and justice rather than mercy — and his older sister is the housekeeper more than the wife who is further from the younger woman's casual attitude toward kitchens.

But, for all the Gothic melodrama Mr. Delbanco comes perilously close to, he does not draw easy comparisons among his characters. The wife is haunted by a sense of the wages of sin. Judah's hankering has reached toward a tampering of his mundane values. The complexity is hinted at in scenes like the flashback to the day when Judah knows that he is to play a piano recital at school at 3 o'clock. At 2 o'clock Judah's tractor gets stalled in a field. Instead of trying to make the recital, he stays and finishes seedling the field on foot. Was he falling in

son? Was he creating something in his own way?

This is often a harsh book. But it suggests that in a long life "possession" can mean many things, some of them quite touching to the heart.

Roderick Norrell is the Monitor's assistant chief editorial writer.

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education

Hamburg's educational experiment:

Where the pace makes the difference

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Hamburg
Hans Hopp, a 10th-year student at the Alter Telchweg Comprehensive School, is tops in math, not quite so good in chemistry, and poorer in English.

He likes this school because it allows him to study these subjects at a pace that fits his abilities. He says he is getting faster in English "all the time," and he studies French as an elective. He feels pressure — but gets "enough" help from the teachers.

Although his father did not attend a university, Hans wants to study law or history at a German university.

Hans is a kind of microcosm of the advantages of West Germany's still experimental comprehensive schools.

Consider what could have happened to this 16-year-old if this school had not been reorganized in this working class neighborhood in 1968. After the fourth class, at 10 years of age, he would have been assigned to a school for the "best and the brightest," to a school for the average students, or to one for the slow ones.

Hans probably would have gone to the school for the "average" kids — and had a slim possibility of attending the university.

Now, however, at the comprehensive school, his fifth through 10th grades have been huddled in a much more flexible way, and he has more naturally found his own level of ability and achievement. He is with a large group of youngsters not separated early in their school years.

In all likelihood he will finish grades 11 through 13 here, earning the traditional German Abitur, which admits one to a German university (provided a place is open).

The universities have no entrance examinations, but depend on the prep school system

to prepare the students.

If Hans had gone to a traditional prep school (called a Gymnasium), he would have had to study all subjects at a similar pace and he would not have had electives. Problems in two subjects could have ended his university hopes.

Hans Ricklefs, who heads the programming staff at Alter Telchweg, said in an interview that only a third of all students are capable of performing at the same pace in all subjects. The other two-thirds have more varied degrees of talents in the different subjects, he said.

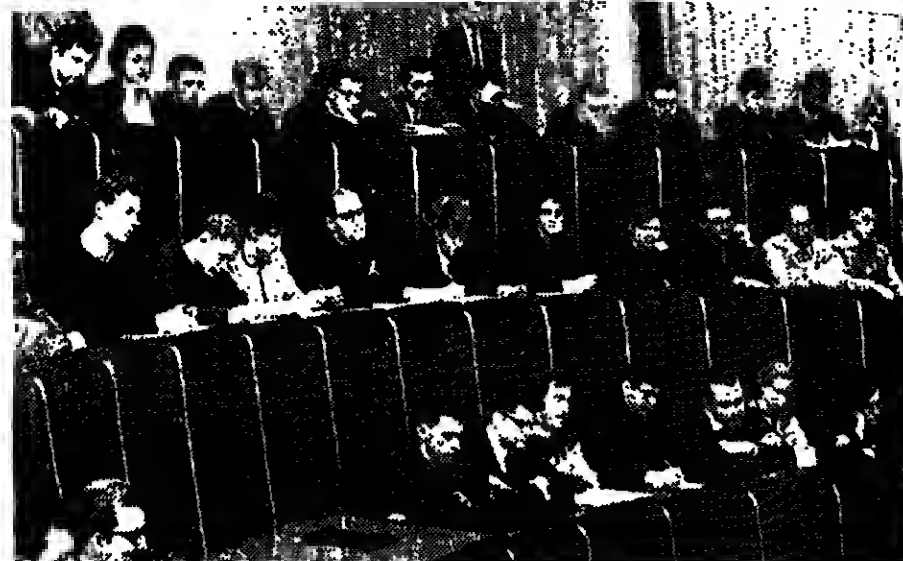
The traditional tripartite German school system, which still largely governs, although it has been modified and modernized, has complex historical roots in a centuries-old class system. It embraces the tradition of a higher education in the classics, plus the influence of the Reformation and the Enlightenment, as well as the rise of cities and the middle class and the dominant influence of Prussia, even into this century.

Modernizing influences were strong after World War I. They were smashed by the Nazis. After World War II the tendency was to pick up where the reformers of the 1920s left off. This slowed changes, compared with other countries, but it has not prevented them.

In West Germany the states are largely responsible for education.

Experimental comprehensive schools have been most widely introduced in states governed by the Social Democrats. Hamburg, a city-state, was one of the earliest to begin. Yet it has only nine comprehensive schools. On the other hand, it has 88 Gymnasiums, as well as the two other types of the three-track system. (These are called Realschule, for the average students, and Hauptschule, for the slower ones.)

Harry Wessel, director of Alter Telchweg, told this newspaper: "The decision to try comprehensive schools was a political decision." He said, "The decision to try comprehensive schools was a political decision."



After Gymnasium — University

Traditionally in West Germany, university students have come through the Gymnasiums, selected out after elementary school as potential university students and given a classical education. This was the case with those students at Saarland University. Today, there is a movement to keep all students, regardless of whether they will go to university or not, in the same comprehensive high school. Results aren't in yet as to whether the new system is working.

through the decades for reform in German education to come from the political reformers, generally the Left.

This causes an unfortunate polarization, since many of the reforms, such as a better, more career oriented education for the "common" people, is desired by a broad base in the population.

In Hamburg alone last year, 400 students could not enroll in the comprehensive school (only two of the nine are district schools) for lack of space. In other words, the parents are voting for them.

The key phrase in the reform effort is "social integration," Mr. Wessel said. But he

added: "Have we really done it? Do our students do better in society? After 150 years of the three-track system and eight years of this, we just don't know."

But these educators cannot hide their approval of their school. Mr. Ricklefs, the programming director, said, for example: "We know that 34 percent of our students now qualify at the Gymnasium level, while before the school changed it was 10 percent."

Only in the 1980s will a broad evaluation of West Germany's comprehensive schools begin. It is bound to be fiercely ideological. But already these schools have caused modification in many areas of education.

Scientists search the skies for 'pregnant' stars

By Robert C. Cowee
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

Scientists who study the origin of planets sometimes wish they could see backward in time. In a sense, their wish may soon be granted.

Astronomers of the University of Arizona's Steward Observatory are identifying star systems where planets may be forming. They hope to find enough of these in various stages of the planet-making process to give astronomers an evolutionary sequence in study. And that, by analogy, would be roughly equivalent to looking backward through time at the early evolution of our own solar system.

In June, Steward astronomers Roger Thompson and Peter Stichtmutter (observatory director) reported the first discovery of one of these star systems. Edwin Erickson, Fred Wilborn, and D. W. Strecker of the Ames Research Center of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), worked with them to confirm that an object known for de-

cares actually seems to be a young star orbited by a disc of dust and gas that is ripe for condensation into planets.

Now, Dr. Thompson says, he and his Steward colleagues are searching through a catalogue of some 300 similar stars and already have a couple of candidates for more detailed analysis.

The origin of planets is hazy. There is no generally accepted theory that explains in detail what happens. But, in one form or another, most theories today envision a star and its planetary system condensing from a cosmic cloud of dust and gas that collapses under the force of its own gravity.

When the collapsing cloud is dense enough, it ignites the nuclear fire and a new star is born. The residue of the cloud then orbits the star in the form of a thin disc. As this disc cools, irregularities in it may condense into masses that eventually form planets.

The ability to pick out stars that may have planet-forming discs is one of the early fruits of the new science of infrared astronomy,



Artist's impression of MWC 349: spawning planets?

which studies the universe by means of the infrared (heat) radiation that celestial objects emit.

The new discovery also illustrates the value of routine astronomical record-keeping.

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Astronomers noted that it was losing brightness rapidly, dimming 1 to 2 percent a month year after year. Yet it still shone 11 times too brightly for a star of its astronomical classification. Radio astronomers such as Prof. Sir Martin Ryle of Cambridge University noted that, at radio wave lengths as well, it "shone" too brightly but was dimming rapidly. Such uniqueness marked the star for special study.

The Steward astronomers studied the stars' infrared image from the ground, while the NASA team used a flying observatory to climb above much of the atmosphere. Since the atmosphere blocks some infrared wave-lengths, this provided useful supplementary data.

These and other data do not fit the patterns of light, radio waves, and heat radiation expected for a star. But they do match those expected for a disc of gas and dust. In fact, they suggest that the disc shines 10 times more brightly than the star, accounting for the unusual brilliance, and dims rapidly as it cools and loses matter that flows into the star. In another 100 years, the disc may not be visible at all.

As the astronomers now envision it, they are dealing with a star only about 1,000 years old and with a disc heated by the internal friction of its swirling dust and gas. The inner part of the disc would extend beyond the orbit of our outermost planet, Pluto, to measure it in solar system terms. That is the part that shines brightly. The outer disc beyond is too cold to shine; but it might be ready to produce planets, says Dr. Thompson.

The star is 10 times the size of our sun and 30 times as massive. It will likely burn itself out in only 100 million years, compared to the 10 billion-year lifetime estimated for the sun. But, although the two stars are not strictly comparable, the method by which planets form around them should be similar enough to help astronomers learn more about how our solar system started, says Dr. Thompson.

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Scientists search the skies for 'pregnant' stars

By Robert C. Cowee
Staff writer of
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Le droit à l'existence de Formose

(Traduction d'un article parus en la page 30)

par Ray S. Cline

Avec tristesse, et non avec colère, je dois trouver à redire quant aux recommandations politiques, concernant la Chine, du plus vénérable des sinologues américains, John K. Fairbank de l'université de Harvard. Fairbank argumente pour ce qu'il appelle lui-même un « mythe politique » — « l'idéal de la Chine unique » — ignorant la réalité évidente qu'il y a deux Chines, deux gouvernements régissant et fonctionnant des populations et des territoires, l'un étant la dictature communiste sur le continent et l'autre l'attitude des U.S.A. dans l'île de Formose.

Cette extranéité platonique visant à faire adopter par la politique étrangère des États-Unis le mythe de la Chine unique, se fonde sur l'argument que la « légitimité de Pékin ne peut être définitivement établie tant que Taïpei continuera à prétendre être la seule vraie Chine ». Il n'est pas expliqué pourquoi c'est soit le droit de l'Amérique, soit dans son intérêt de continuer une telle légitimité à Pékin, alors que Pékin elle-même n'a pu la remporter face à l'auto-défense déterminée de 17 millions de Chinois demeurant à Formose, qui ont soit ordonné vers les U.S.A., et dont l'esprit est démocratique.

Fairbank, écrivant récemment dans la *New York Times*, a dit tout simplement qu'il y a des U.S.A. doivent accepter les « faits durs » conditions de Pékin — qu'il résume correctement comme « plus de reconnaissance de la république rivala de la Chine, pas de traité de sécurité avec elle, pas de forces armées américaines à Formose » — non pas parce que ce sont des mesures légitimes dans la recherche des propres intérêts de l'Amérique, mais parce que Pékin l'exige. Si l'administration Carter, évidemment, ce serait le premier exemple où les « États-Unis » permettraient que les « obliga-

tions précises consenties par traité à un allié soient foulées aux pieds par la décision de s'incliner devant les ordres d'un gouvernement étranger.

Ceux qui proposent cette capitulation devant Pékin essayent à la fois de garder et de manger leur part de gâteau disant, ainsi que Fairbank le fait, que la société chinoise de l'île de Formose « survivra grâce à sa propre vitalité » et que le commerce, les investissements, les voyages et les contacts culturels américains avec Formose « se poursuivront comme par le passé ». C'est là formuler un pieux espoir ou prendre ses désirs pour des réalités, non pas une anticipation réaliste.

Si les États-Unis annulent leur reconnaissance, retirent leurs effectifs militaires et abrogent les engagements stipulés dans leur traité de défense, un coup qui finirait certainement par être fatal serait porté à la société florissante de Formose. Une fois que le gouvernement des U.S.A. aura dit que légalement les 17 millions de Chinois demeurant à Formose ne forment qu'une province de « la Chine unique » gouvernée par la république populaire de Chine à Pékin (RPC), la RPC commencera à serrer la vis aux nations et aux firmes commerciales privées pour boycotter le commerce avec Formose ou le censurer par Pékin.

Ces pressions sont appliquées maintenant mais sans succès à cause de la sécurité assurée par les relations avec les U.S.A. La vitalité vraiment miraculeuse de Formose na pour pas survivre à plus de trois ans de boycottage et de chantage une fois que les États-Unis auront renoncé à leur droit légal de protéger le peuple de Formose. Toutes « garanties tacites » de la part de Pékin seraient sans valeur d'après la « loi internationale », et les la-

vestissements stratégiques des États-Unis à Formose ne pourraient plus être protégés légalement.

Dans ces conditions la stabilité politique de la République de Chine ne pourrait pas manquer d'être minée, en particulier parce qu'elle dépend tellement des compétences directrices du petit groupe de fonctionnaires formosais en faveur des U.S.A., dirigé par le premier ministre Chiang Ching-kuo qui gouverne si bien l'île actuellement. Ce groupe de fonctionnaires a subordonné toutes considérations politiques à l'établissement de Formose comme bastion des principes et des intérêts stratégiques des États-Unis dans l'Océan Pacifique. Le gouvernement pro-américain de Formose sera forcément discrédité et attaqué par une action calculée des U.S.A. en vue de se débarrasser d'un allié loyal pour se conformer aux intérêts concrets posés par Pékin.

La plupart des Chinois de la République de Chine pensent actuellement que les Américains seraient trop fiers ainsi que trop honorables pour se livrer à cette action; s'il était démontré qu'ils ont tort, le préjudice porté au moral et à la confiance dans l'avenir de la République de Chine serait incalculable. Les Chinois de Formose se considèrent comme un modèle de liberté politique et de progrès économique exposé à la vue du monde; et, comme toute petite nation subissant des attaques, ils croient qu'ils ont le « droit d'exister ».

Une impression profonde et défavorable serait ressentie à travers toute l'Asie si les U.S.A. renonçaient à leurs engagements afin de se concilier les dirigeants communistes chinois Hua Kuo-fang et Teng Hsiao-ping qui, sans aucun effort d'imagination, ne peuvent être « considérés » comme « étant » fondateurs.

talement en faveur de la liberté politique, des droits de l'homme, ou des États-Unis.

La seule chose dont le RPC puisse se prévaloir auprès des U.S.A. est que son gouvernement est anti-soviétique et c'est seulement parce qu'elle craint maintenant l'U.R.S.S. que les U.S.A., l'autre super-puissance que Pékin dénonce systématiquement. En fait, quand données ses faiblesses économiques et militaires, Pékin a besoin de Washington bien plus que Washington n'a besoin de Pékin. Les gens de par tout le monde se demandent pourquoi l'administration Carter céderait aux exigences de Pékin, savoir que les U.S. mettent en danger la République de Chine, l'une des principales nations du monde, parmi les 40 plus importantes en population, dans le but de contenter une « légitimité » à un régime tyrannique qui s'est installé sur le continent uniquement grâce à sa puissance militaire.

La réponse juste est évidemment que les U.S.A. doivent reconnaître les faits — reconnaître deux Chinois de facto sur la base des populations et du territoire qu'elles gouvernent effectivement maintenant. Cela peut ne faire entièrement plaisir à aucun des deux gouvernements chinois, mais cela permettrait aux demandes les plus extrêmes des deux régimes d'être réglées par l'histoire, quand le temps serait révolus, non pas par le Département d'État des U.S.A. ou la Maison Blanche. La stabilité de l'Est asiatique ne serait pas troublée et le peuple américain au sujet de la Chine représenterait la réalité, non un mythe cher à Pékin.

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Taiwan's Recht auf Existenz

(Dieser Artikel erscheint in englischer Sprache auf Seite 30.)

Von Ray S. Cline

Nicht Ärger, sondern Sorge veranlaßt mich, gegen die von dem ehrwürdigen amerikanischen Sinologen John K. Fairbank von der Harvard-Universität empfohlene China-Politik Einwendungen zu machen. Fairbank selbst ist für die Existenz nur eines Chinas an — was, was er selbst als „politische Mythos“ bezeichnet —, und er ignoriert dabei die augenscheinliche Realität zweier chinesischer Staaten, zweier Regierungen, die Bevölkerung und Land fest im Griff haben: die kommunistische Diktatur auf dem Festland und die amerikanischen Blümpchenpartner auf der Insel Taiwan.

Dieses ungewöhnliche Plädoyer, die Vereinigten Staaten sollten sich in ihrer Außenpolitik die Mythe von der Existenz nur eines Chinas zu eigen machen, gründet sich auf das Argument, daß Peking „legitimiert“ werden kann, solange Taipei beansprucht, „das eine wahre China zu sein“. Es wird nicht erklärt, warum Amerika das Recht habe oder warum es in seinem Interesse liege, Peking solche eine Legitimität zu verschaffen, wenn es sich angesichts der entschlossenen Verteidigung von 17 Millionen Amerikanern gegen die kommunistische Aggression auf Taiwan nicht selbst dazu verpflichtet hätte.

Fairbank, der kürzlich in der *New York Times* zu Wort kam, sagt einfach, die USA sollten die harten „drei Bedingungen“ Peking akzeptieren — die er korrekt wiedergibt: „Abbruch der diplomatischen Beziehungen“ zu dem Rivalen, der Republik China, kein Sicherheitsvertrag mit ihr und keine amerikanischen Streitkräfte auf Taiwan“ —, doch nicht, weil es sich, wie er folgenschwerer behauptet, im Interesse Amerikas handelt, sondern weil Peking es verdient. Wenn die Regierung Carter darauf

einginge, würden sich die Vereinigten Staaten zum erstenmal über eindeutige vertragliche Verpflichtungen gegenüber einem Alliierten hinwegsetzen und sich dem Diktat einer fremden Regierung beugen.

Die Fürsprecher dieser Kapitulation vor Peking suchen ihren Willen durchzusetzen, indem sie wie Fairbank erklären, das gesellschaftliche System auf Taiwan werde „aufgrund seiner eigenen Vitalität überleben“ und Amerikas werde „nach wie vor“ mit der Insel Handel treiben, dort Investoren und des Touristenverkehr und Kulturaustausch weiterführen. Das ist eine fromme Hoffnung oder Wunschdenken, nicht eine realistische Erwartung.

Wenn die Vereinigten Staaten die diplomatischen Beziehungen zu Taiwan abbrechen, ihre Streitkräfte abziehen und sich ihrer Verpflichtungen gegenüber Taiwan entziehen, dann ist Taiwan ein Schlag mit einem letzten, tödlichen Ausweg versetzt. Wenn die US-Regierung erst einmal rechtsverbindlich erklärt, daß Taiwan mit seinen 17 Millionen Chinesen lediglich eine Provinz des „einen Chinas“ sei und von der Volksrepublik China in Peking beherrscht werde, dann wird letztere anderen Ländern und einzelnen Geschäftsmännern das Verbot erteilen, Beziehungen zu Taiwan zu unterhalten, um den Handel mit Taiwan zu boykottieren oder ihn über Peking abzuschneiden.

Peking bedarf sich schon jetzt dieser Drohkraut, doch ohne Erfolg, denn die Verbindung zu den USA gewährt Taiwan Sicherheit. Wenn die Vereinigten Staaten ihr Recht, die Bevölkerung Taiwans zu schützen, aufgeben, kann die in der Tat wunderbare wirtschaftliche Vitalität Taiwans nicht mehr als drei Jahre des Boykotts und der Erpressungsverkräften. Jegliche „allseitig gewollten Garantien“ seitens Peking wären nach Inter-

nationalen Recht wertlos, und die gesellschaftlichen Investitionen der USA in Taiwan könnten nicht mehr rechtlich geschützt werden.

Unter diesen Umständen würde die politische Stabilität der Republik China unvermeidlich untergraben, insbesondere deshalb, weil sie in so hohem Maße auf den Fähigkeiten der kleinen Gruppe pro-amerikanischer Manager beruht, angeführt von Ministerpräsident Chiang Ching-kuo, die das Land jetzt so gut regiert. Diese Gruppe hat alle politischen Belange dem Ziel untergeordnet, Taiwan zu einer Bastion der Prinzipien und strategischen Interessen der USA im westlichen Pazifik zu machen. Die pro-amerikanische Führung Taiwans würde in Gefahr sein, wenn die Vereinigten Staaten einen treuen Verbündeten im Stillen, um auf die drei von Peking gestellten Bedingungen einzugehen.

Die meisten Chinesen in der Republik China glauben, die Amerikaner seien zu stolz und zu ehrlich, um solche eine Schritt zu tun. Sollte sich jedoch dieser Glaube als falsch erweisen, werden die Moral und das Vertrauen auf die Zukunft der Republik China unersetzbar beeinträchtigt. Die Chinesen auf Taiwan betrachten ihr Land als ein Musterbeispiel für politische Freiheit und wirtschaftlichen Fortschritt und wie jedes andere kleine Land, das angegriffen wird, glauben sie, ein Recht auf Existenz zu haben.

Es wird eine starke und unglaubliche Wirkung auf ganz Asien ausüben, wenn sich die USA ihren Verpflichtungen gegenüber Taiwan, die kommunistischen Führer Chinas, Hua Kuo-fang und Teng Hsiao-ping, zu beschwichtigen, die man

selbst dann nicht als Freunde politischer Freiheit, der Menschenrechte oder der Vereinigten Staaten ansehen kann, wenn man seiner Phantasie freien Lauf läßt.

Das einzige, was die Volksrepublik China gegenüber den USA geltend machen kann, ist, daß ihre Regierung antisowjetisch ist. Aber es ist nur deshalb, weil sie die U.S.S.R. mehr fürchtet als die Vereinigten Staaten. Eine andere Großmacht, die von Peking „beim Brandmarkt“ wird, in Anbetracht seiner militärischen und wirtschaftlichen Schwäche, braucht Peking Washington viel mehr als umgekehrt. Warum also, fragen sich die Menschen überall in der Welt, sollte die Regierung Carter der Forderung Peking nachgeben und die Republik China einem Risiko aussetzen, eins der wichtigsten Länder in der Welt, das zu den vierzig bevölkerungsreichsten zählt —, um einem tyrannischen System, das sich allein auf militärischer Gewalt auf dem Festland etabliert hat, „Legitimität“ zu verschaffen?

Die richtige Antwort für die USA besteht ganz eindeutig darin, daß sie zwei Chines de facto anerkennen müssen, und zwar aufgrund der effektiven Kontrolle, die beide über ihre Bevölkerung und ihr Territorium ausüben. Dies mag keinen der beiden chinesischen Staaten restlos glücklich machen, doch es würde es der Geschichte und nicht dem amerikanischen Außenministerium oder dem Weißen Haus überlassen, die übertriebenen Streitfragen zwischen beiden Regionen zu gegebener Zeit zu klären. Dies würde die Stabilität in Ostasien aufrechterhalten, und die amerikanische China-Politik würde die Realität und nicht eine in Peking gängige Mythe widerspiegeln.

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French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

(Traduction de l'article religieux parus en anglais sur la page Home Forum)

Triompher de l'injustice

Je savais que je n'avais pas tort l'obéissance à chacun des règlements du code de la route quand le conducteur de l'autre voiture débotta, heurta ma voiture et l'endommagea. Nous avons échangé les renseignements nécessaires et j'ai réglé l'incident. Quelques semaines plus tard je reçus un chèque de la compagnie d'assurance, envoyant exactement la moitié du prix de la réparation. Je téléphonai à l'expert pour faire une réclamation et l'on me dit que je n'étais pas entièrement satisfait sans torts et que par conséquent il ne m'était payé que la moitié des frais encourus.

Je me mis alors à réfléchir sur la justice. Je me rappelle que la justice est une qualité de Dieu, ainsi que la Science Chrétienne l'enseigne. Dans la Bible, nous lisons : « [1.] Tout l'homme [est] grand par la force, par la justice, par le droit souverain. » [2.] Je raisonne que si Dieu, l'Entendement divin, l'Amour, est omnipotent ainsi que la Bible le déclare, alors tout doit être soumis à Sa justice, et il ne peut y avoir aucun pouvoir qui puisse em-

pêcher cette justice de se manifester dans notre existence quotidienne. Je savais que cette compréhension opérerait en tant que loi pour corriger l'injustice et résulterait en une solution juste et équitable de tout problème qui pourrait survenir.

Je téléphonai de nouveau à l'expert, je discutai l'affaire avec lui du point de vue de l'impartialité et je reçus sous peu un chèque pour le solde des frais de réparation.

Il n'y a pas de circonstance où la loi divine de justice ne peut être invoquée pour corriger l'injustice et pour établir ce qui est bon et équitable. Il faut que nous nous rapprochions davantage de Dieu afin de percevoir plus clairement qu'il est omnipotent, partout présent et suprêmement bon. L'homme — l'identité réelle, spirituelle, de chacun de nous — exprime tous les attributs de Dieu, y compris la justice, l'intégrité et la sagesse. Le mal, l'opposé imaginaire de Dieu, ne peut avoir ni présence ni pouvoir et il est par conséquent inexistant.

L'injustice est la croyance que le mal peut suppléer le bien et que le faux peut triompher du vrai, mais on triomphe de ces

erreurs en reconnaissant le pouvoir de Dieu exprimé par ses lois. Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « Un entendement égoïste et limité peut être injuste, mais l'Entendement divin et illimité est la loi immortelle de la justice comme de la miséricorde. » Cette loi ne peut être contrecarrée, elle est irrésistible, suprême.

Christ Jésus fut soumis à l'injustice suprême quand il fut jugé, condamné et crucifié. Mais cela ne lui enleva pas la conviction qu'il avait de la supériorité et de la totalité de l'Amour, ce qui lui permit de dire de ses persécuteurs : « Père, pardonne-leur, car ils ne savent ce qu'ils font. » La compréhension qu'il avait de sa filiation avec Dieu permit à Jésus de s'élever au-dessus de toute prétention d'injustice et de haïne et de prouver, grâce à sa résurrection, le pouvoir de la loi divine de justice et d'amour.

Si nous avons à faire face à une situation dans laquelle l'injustice menace de dominer, nous ne devons pas avoir de crainte ou d'effroi. Nous pouvons prendre conscience du fait qu'à portée de la main se trouve une loi

divine entièrement capable de renverser, dans notre pensée, toute la situation et d'établir la justice en manifestant dans nos affaires la perfection de la création spirituelle de Dieu. Dans la mesure où nous comprenons cette création qui se développe continuellement, nous verrons son harmonie, son intelligence et sa bonté se manifester dans notre vie. Il ne nous faut pas — nous ne devons pas — pré-déterminer la façon exacte dont cela s'accomplira, mais nous devons faire confiance à Dieu et être certains que le résultat sera en conformité avec Sa volonté. Voilà la prière efficace.

Job 37:23; 'Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures', p. 38; 1. Luc 23:34.

Christian Science (Kristian 'Wissen')
La traduction française de l'œuvre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clé des Écritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, est en vente en anglais en regard de tout l'ouvrage dans les Bibles de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commandement à Francis C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02118.
Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02118.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

(Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englischer Sprache erscheinenden religiösen Artikels)

(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Überwindung von Ungerechtigkeit

Ich wußte, daß es nicht meine Schuld war. Ich hatte jede Verkehrsregelung beachtet. Aber das andere Auto verließ seine Fahrbahn, stieß mit meinem Wagen zusammen und beschädigte ihn. Wir tauschten die notwendigen Informationen aus; dann holte ich Kostenvoranschläge für die Reparatur ein und forderte von meiner Versicherungsgesellschaft Schadenersatz. Innerhalb weniger Wochen erhielt ich von dieser Versicherungsgesellschaft einen Scheck, der nur die Hälfte der Reparaturkosten deckte. Ich rief den Sachbearbeiter an, um dagegen Einspruch zu erheben. Mir wurde gesagt, daß ich nicht völlig schuldlos gewesen und mir deshalb nur die Hälfte der gesamten Kosten erstattet werden sei.

Daraufhin begann ich über Gerechtigkeit nachzudenken. Ich erinnerte mich daran, daß, wie die Christliche Wissenschaft lehrt, Gerechtigkeit eine Eigenschaft Gottes ist. In der Bibel lesen wir: „Groß ist Kraft und reich an Gerechtigkeit, wird an das Recht nicht biegen.“ Ich folgte, daß, wenn Gott, das göttliche Gemüt, Liebe, allmächtig ist, wie die Bibel erklärt, alles seiner Gerechtigkeit unterworfen muß und keine Macht es verhindern könnte, daß diese Gerechtigkeit in

unserem täglichen Leben sichtbar wird. Ich wußte, daß dieses Verständnis als ein Gesetz wirken würde, das Ungerechtigkeit beseitigt und zu einer fairen und richtigen Lösung eines jeden Problems, das auftauchen könnte, führt.

Ich rief den Sachbearbeiter noch einmal an, besprach die Angelegenheit mit ihm im Lichte von Formos, und es dauerte nicht lange, bevor ich einen Scheck für den Restbetrag der Reparaturkosten erhielt.

Es gibt keinen Fall, wo wir uns nicht auf Gottes Gesetz der Gerechtigkeit berufen könnten, um Ungerechtigkeit zu beseitigen und das, was gerecht und gut ist, durchzusetzen. Wir müssen Gott näherkommen, um deutlich wahrzunehmen, daß Er allmächtig, allgegenwärtig und überaus gut ist. Der Mensch — die wirkliche, geistige Identität eines jeden von uns — bringt alle Eigenschaften Gottes zum Ausdruck, auch Gerechtigkeit, Integrität und Weisheit. De das Böse, das fiktive Gegenteil Gottes, weder Gegenwert noch Macht haben kann, existiert es in Wirklichkeit nicht.

Ungerechtigkeit stellt die Annahme dar, das Böse könne das Gute verdrängen und das Falsche über das Richtige triumphieren. Aber diese Annahmen werden durch das

Wissen um die Macht Gottes, die durch Seine Gesetze zum Ausdruck kommt, überwunden. Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt: „Ein selbstständiges und unbegrenztes Gemüt mag ungerecht sein, das unbegrenzte und göttliche Gemüt jedoch ist das unsterbliche Gesetz sowohl der Gerechtigkeit wie der Barmherzigkeit.“ Diesem Gesetz kann kein Widerstand entgegengesetzt werden; es ist allem überlegen.

Christus Jesus widerfuhr die größte Ungerechtigkeit, als er verurteilt, verurteilt und gekreuzigt wurde. Aber dies nahm ihm nicht die Überzeugung von der Allerbarmlichkeit und Allheil der Liebe, die es ihm ermöglichte, für seine Verfolger zu beten: „Vater, vergib ihnen; dann es wissen nicht, was sie tun!“ Da Jesus seine Gotteskindschaft verstand, konnte er sich über jeden Anspruch von Ungerechtigkeit und Haß erheben und durch seine Auferstehung die Macht des göttlichen Gesetzes der Gerechtigkeit und Liebe beweisen.

Wenn wir uns in einer Situation befinden, wo Ungerechtigkeit die Oberhand zu gewinnen droht, sollten wir uns weder flüchten noch entmutigt fühlen. Wir können uns verge-

genwärtigen, daß es ein göttliches Gesetz gibt, das die gesamte Situation in unserem Bewusstsein durchaus umkehren und Gerechtigkeit herbeiführen kann, indem es die Vollkommenheit der geistigen Schöpfung Gottes in unseren Angelegenheiten offenbar macht. In dem Maße, wie wir diese all ständig entfaltende Schöpfung verstehen, werden wir in unserem Leben Beweise ihrer Harmonie, Intelligenz und Güte sehen. Wir brauchen, ja sollten nicht im Voraus bestimmen, wie das nun alles vollbracht werden wird; vielmehr sollten wir Gott vertrauen, in der Gewißheit, daß das Ergebnis Seinem Willen entsprechen wird. Das ist wirksames Gebet.

Job 37:23 [n. der Züricher Bibel]; 'Wissen, Macht und Gerechtigkeit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift', S. 38; Lukas 23:34.

Christian Science (Kristian 'Wissen')
Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift“ von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Leserkontakten der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Francis C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02118.
Anschreiben über andere christlich-wissenschaftliche Schriften in deutscher Sprache stellt auf Anfrage der Verlag, The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02118.



Cape Cod, Massachusetts

Early morning date with the sea

By Parli J. Falkenberg, staff photographer

OPINION AND...

Joseph C. Harsch

Somalia is not Vietnam

President Carter has offered to help the Somalis if they decide to bring their weapons business across to the Western side of the street from Moscow. He has also offered to help Chad and the Sudan.

This is the first time since the collapse of the American venture in Vietnam that Washington has initiated a new and positive operation in power politics. Former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger tried to initiate one in the case of Angola. Congress blocked him. So far, Congress has not objected to this operation which affects the future of the whole of northeastern Africa.

Moscow has objected. Izvestia has asserted that the United States is behind the separatist movement in the British part of Ethiopia (which has been backed by the Sudan and Somalia) and is attempting to win Somalia away from the Soviet sphere of influence. Moscow charges that this is an attempt to overthrow "revolutionary" regimes in the Horn of Africa.

Not all of the details of what is actually going on in the Horn of Africa are on the official public record. But essentially, Moscow's charges are correct. The United States is supporting Saudi Arabia in that country's long-term effort to push Soviet influence out of

northeastern Africa. Moscow has got the message. Washington does not want Soviet power astride the oil route from the Persian Gulf to the West.

So far the American role in this operation has largely been to heck up Saudi Arabia. But in the latest development the American role has become positive and open. Somalia, the Sudan, and Chad have been invited to ask for Washington's help. And (not new) Washington is working on ways and means of helping Egypt get the weapons in the West which it can no longer get from Moscow.

All of the above seems to have come as something of a shock to persons who thought the United States had gone out of the business of power politics. Obviously, it has not. So this question arises, is this a good or bad thing, a justified or a foolish thing?

The essential point in my opinion is that events in the whole of northeastern Africa and more particularly in Somalia do touch upon important and, I would say, even vital American and West European interests.

The United States today is increasingly dependent on imported oil. Its allies in Western Europe are almost wholly dependent on that source of oil. Until North America and West-

ern Europe develop alternative sources of energy their economic well-being, even their economic survival, depend on a regular and uninterrupted flow of oil coming from a friendly Middle East. I cannot think of any target for American diplomacy having a higher priority right now than the security of the oil line from Middle East to West.

Somalia itself is a minor matter. Its population is about three million, mostly nomadic. Its exports are worth \$54 million a year. Bananas are the largest item. But its geographic location make it of enormous strategic importance. Moscow has been cultivating Somalia for years. Moscow has a naval and air base at Berbera. From Berbera the Soviets can overlook the Gulf of Aden which is the outlet from the Suez Canal and the Red Sea into the Indian Ocean. From Berbera they can also overlook the route of the tankers heading south from the Persian Gulf to the Cape of Good Hope.

The argument for American intervention in Vietnam was the domino theory, i.e., the idea that Chinese and Soviet imperialism would spread from Vietnam throughout Southeast Asia to India, the Middle East and Africa. There was the contributory fact that the

middle and upper classes in Vietnam were Christians. They did not want to come under communist authority.

But there was nothing in the Vietnam condition which even remotely touched the vital national interests of the United States as does Somalia. Vietnam is gone now with no strategic damage. On the contrary, U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam has allowed the natural hostility between China and the Soviet Union to develop — naturally. The United States has gained strategically from getting out of Vietnam. It would be disadvantaged by a Soviet political and military position on the Horn of Africa.

In other words, it seems to me that the United States has logical and proper reasons of national self-interest for doing precisely what Moscow accuses it of doing. It is trying to repel Soviet influence from northeast Africa. It is offering to help Somalia, not because of love for the Somalis, but because the economic well-being of the United States and of its allies is involved.

This is not a case like Vietnam where the reasons for intervention were ideological, emotional, and humanistic. This is a case of plain, simple national interest.

The sounds of summer

Melvin Maddocks

In the summer we wake up, listening. It is as if the ear has been waiting all night for the peculiar announcements of a summer's morning. The "hobnob" call of a quail — as limpid as bird-song can be. The distant first bark of a farm dog, a half-mile away. The rustle of a tree outside a bedroom window, shuffling its full complement of August leaves.

Sound is not seasonal. But in the winter sound is so amplified, so muted by snow and storm-wind that one seems to hear everything from two rooms away. In the summer the ear hears a twig snap across a lake as if the hand could reach out and touch the splintered wood.

Even in the city summer sounds have a clarity, an edge. The early-morning footstep falls on the sidewalk with a special precision. An old-car starts, and the ear distinguishes the individual clatter of each valve, or so it thinks.

In the summer, furthermore, everything seems to convey itself as sound, even heat — that hum-and-simmer which erases one. And when, to escape the heat, the listener plunges himself in water, what unearthly sounds swell him a fathom down! There is, of course, the child's trick of two stones clicked together — a sound as distinct, as three-dimensional as the stones themselves. But the true underwater sound is a mere pulsing; a

sound so subtly acute it seems interior. The pure oom of being. Sound aspiring to be silence and almost succeeding except for this wet whisper, this echo of an echo.

Is it the subliminal sound of summer? Familiar sounds are altered by summer, as a picture is changed by the blink-out of doors, on a summer night. For instance, all music tends to be romantic. Woodwinds are quite literally in their element, and violinists bow all over our hearts. Everything this side of Schönberg sounds like program music for "A Midsummer Night's Dream." Alas, almost any cheap effect will do.

In the summer we find out how directly the ear is plugged into the emotions. And in addition to hearing more intensely we see more intensely too — all outline and primary colors. Then there are the other senses. We are suffused in fragrances; we are assailed by flavors.

Is this intimacy between the ear and the summer world around it just a general sign that we are more alive when we take off our mittens and stocking caps, open our doors and windows, and taste food as it

comes fresh from the earth instead of the freezer? Are we simply saying that in the summer, led by the ear, we all become Latins?

But the hot-weather ear is more than merely supersensuous. There goes with the sound-savoring a sense of range, extended. In the summer one feels able to hear more exactly and at greater distances — above and perhaps below one's normal capabilities. No high-decibel shriek, no low-decibel moan from the universe will escape detection. The summer ear is ready as ever before for whatever message the world is packaging in code. The summer ear is on a frontier, cocked for a sound just beyond the sensory. The summer ear represents the senses trying to escape themselves, like a plane at takeoff pressing into the ground furiously in order to leave it.

The only sound that seems diminished and less effective in the summer is language. Words, the best words, hang in the air like wax flowers. Words? Who needs them on an August evening when even the grass seems to talk? What is there to explain?

In the summer, and perhaps only in the summer, the paradox becomes a statement of fact: Language is sound that longs ultimately for its own silence. We are back under water with the oom.

Taiwan's 'right to exist'

By Ray S. Cline

In sorrow, not in anger, I must take exception to the most venerable of American sinologists, Harvard's John K. Fairbank, concerning his policy recommendations on China. Fairbank argues for what he himself calls "political myth" — the "One China ideal" — ignoring the evident reality that there are two Chinas, two governments in effective control of people and territory, one the Communist dictatorship on the mainland and the other, the U.S.-ally, on the island of Taiwan.

This extraordinary plea to accept as United States foreign policy the "One China myth" is based on the argument that "Peking's legitimacy cannot be finally established as long as Taipei keeps on claiming to be the true 'One China.'" There is no explanation of why it is either America's right or in its interest to confer each legitimacy on Peking when it has not been able to win it for itself in the face of the determined self-defense of the 17 million U.S.-oriented, democratic-minded Chinese on Taiwan.

Fairbank, writing in the New York Times recently, simply says the U.S. must accept Peking's harsh "three conditions" — which he correctly summarizes as "no more recognition of the rival Republic of China, no security treaty with it, no American military in Taiwan" — not because these are sound steps in pursuit of America's own interest but because Peking demands it. If the Carter administration does so, it would be the first instance in

which the United States let its clear-cut treaty obligations to an ally be overridden by a decision to bow to the dictate of a foreign government.

Proponents of this capitulation to Peking try to have their cake and eat it by saying, as Fairbank does, that the Chinese society on the island of Taiwan "will survive by its own vitality" and American trade, investment, travel and other contacts with Taiwan will

keep it alive. If the United States withdraws its recognition, its military presence and its defense treaty commitment, the flourishing society in Taiwan will be dealt a body blow which will surely in the end be fatal. Once the U.S. Government says legally that the 17 million Chinese on Taiwan are only a province of the "One China" controlled by the People's Republic of China in Peking, the PRC will begin turning the screws on nations and individual business firms to boycott trade with Taiwan or channel it through Peking.

These pressures are being applied now but are unsuccessful because of the security provided by the U.S. relationship. The truly miraculous economic vitality of Taiwan cannot last more than three years of boycott and blackmail once the United States gives up its legal rights to protect the people of Taiwan. Any "float guarantees" from Peking would be worthless in international law, and the U.S.

strategic investment in Taiwan could no longer be legally protected.

In these circumstances the political stability of the Republic of China could not help but be undermined, particularly because it depends so much on the managerial skills of the small group of strongly pro-U.S. officials, led by Prime Minister Chiang Ching-kuo, who now govern the island so well. This group of officials has no political or policy considerations in mind when they govern. They are concerned only with the welfare of the island and the United States in the western Pacific. The pro-American leadership in Taiwan is bound to be discredited and weakened by a calculated U.S. move to discard a loyal ally in compliance with the three conditions laid down in Peking.

Most Chinese in the Republic of China now think the Americans would be too proud as well as too honorable to make this move. If they should prove to be wrong, the injury to morale and confidence in the future of the Republic of China will be incalculable. The Chinese in Taiwan see themselves as a showcase of political freedom and economic progress, and like any small nation under attack, they believe they have a "right to exist."

It will make a deep and unfavorable impression throughout Asia if the U.S. abandons its commitment in order to please Chinese Communist leaders that Kuo-feng and Teng Hsiao-ping, who bring breath of life to the PRC, can be considered as internationally friendly toward

political freedom, human rights, or the United States.

The only claim the PRC has on the U.S. is that its government is anti-Soviet, and that is only because it now fears the U.S.S.R. more than the United States, the other superpower. Which Peking also routinely denounces. In fact, in view of its military and economic weaknesses, Peking needs Washington much more than the other way around. Why, then, should the world be bound to ask, should the Carter administration yield to Peking's demand that the U.S. place in jeopardy the Republic of China, one of the major nations of the world — among the 40 largest in population — in the cause of conferring "legitimacy" on an oppressive regime that established itself on the mainland purely by military force?

The right answer is plainly for the U.S. to recognize facts — to recognize two Chinas de facto on the basis of the populations and territory they now effectively control. This may make neither Chinese regime entirely happy, but it will leave the more extravagant claims of both regimes to be settled by history. In the fullness of time, not by the U.S. Department of State, but by the U.S. policy on China would reflect realities.

Mr. Cline, former deputy director of the CIA, is executive director of studies at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies.

COMMENTARY

Should U.S. go for the cruise missile?

Yes

By Robert L. Pfaltzgraff Jr. and Jacquelyn K. Davis

With the decision of the Carter administration to forgo deployment of the B-1, the United States has become heavily dependent on the air-launched cruise missile to preserve the triad of forces (bombers, submarine-launched ballistic missiles, and the land-based Minuteman force), upon which U.S. strategic doctrine is based, and to stem the erosion of U.S. capabilities in the face of a relentless buildup in Soviet military power.

The emerging generation of U.S. cruise missiles has benefited from revolutionary advances in miniaturization, propulsion systems, airframe designs, guidance technologies and warhead configurations.

Because of their potentially high accuracy, and with their flexibility with regard to deployment modes, cruise missiles would provide the United States, in the early 1980s with a strategic retaliatory capability for use against Soviet targets that have been reinforced (hardened) in the large-scale active and passive defense programs mounted by the Soviet Union in recent years.

Land-attack cruise missiles, deployed aboard ships assigned to NATO, allied aircraft, and tracked vehicle launchers could augment the defense/deterrence of Western Europe, contributing the single most important potential application of U.S. cruise missile technology.

Deployed on land-based platforms, cruise missiles could attack fixed targets far behind enemy lines, such as supply depots, troop staging areas, and airfields — all of which would need to be destroyed at the outset of a Warsaw Pact attack against NATO. Deep interdiction missions for which manned aircraft are now used might be assumed by cruise missiles, thus freeing tactical air power for missions such as close air support of NATO forces and control of the air space over Western and Central Europe.

Thus the cruise missile has emerged as an important alliance concern which could become a deeply divisive issue within NATO if the United States were to barter away the cruise missile in a bilateral forum such as the SALT. This would be the case if, for example, range limitations were placed on cruise missiles which effectively barred their use for deep interdiction behind Warsaw Pact lines.

Notwithstanding the strategic/military potential of the cruise missile, and despite its announced support of the air-launched cruise missile, the Carter administration has apparently been prepared to consider, for the sake of détente, limitations on the cruise missile at the SALT.

No

By David L. Jaebough

President Carter's decision to deploy the long-range air-launched cruise missile, announced at a press conference on June 30, may have a shattering effect on efforts to curb the nuclear arms race and to repair United States relations with the Soviet Union.

1. The nuclear arms race will acquire a fourth dimension. The U.S. strategic force will be expanded from a triad (land-based ballistic missiles, sea-based ballistic missiles, and bombers) to a tetrad (these three elements plus the cruise missile). The U.S. will have added an entirely new weapons system to its strategic force, not simply a replacement weapon. The President has repeatedly said that he wants to eliminate nuclear weapons from the earth. But this decision will take us in exactly the opposite direction.

2. Deployment of the cruise missile will result in a significant increase in the numbers of nuclear weapons. The day after the President announced the decision, Secretary of Defense Harold Brown said the new missile may be put on as many as 250 B-52 bombers. That could mean the deployment of 5,000 of these weapons — or more American nuclear weapons of this one type than the total number of nuclear weapons in Russia's entire strategic arsenal.

3. The shelving of the B-1 bomber will stimulate the deployment of another new weapon, the mobile land-based missile known as M-X. Just below the surface in Washington the momentum for M-X surges forward. The argument for M-X will seem compelling: the increasing vulnerability of U.S. land-based missiles and the possible demise of the U.S. bomber force make essential the deployment of a new invulnerable mobile missile. The development of the M-X missile will be the high cost of shelving the B-1 bomber.

4. The military "advantage" of the cruise missile will be fleeting. As with the MIRV, the Russians too will soon master the technology of this weapon. Both sides will then be less secure. Cruise missiles in, for example, the torpedo tubes of Soviet attack submarines will be a formidable threat to the multitude of urban and industrial targets near the coast of America.

5. The problem of verifying limitations on cruise missiles could mean the end of strategic arms limitation agreements. The United States is developing two types of cruise missile. One is designed for air launch only (the ALCM) and one is designed for launch from the ground, sea, or air (the Tomahawk). Both weapons are small and easy to hide, and limitations on them, especially the Tomahawk, may present

insuperable verification problems. Congress and the public need to know more from the administration on this issue. Will cruise-missile limitations be verifiable? If not, should the U.S. not seek Soviet agreement to ban this weapon altogether, for this reason alone?

President Carter has made a decision of great consequence: Stay ahead of the Russians — this time with the cruise missile — rather than attempt to limit the Russians at the cost of limiting the U.S.

In a speech on policy toward the Soviet Union on July 21, the President said the deployment of the cruise missile would counter the growing Soviet threat to the U.S. deterrent. As a result of U.S. deployment of the cruise missile, the Russians will need to counter the growing American threat. And I hope we will need to counter the Russian counter. And then...

The President's negotiating tactics have been puzzling. In February he said his decision on the B-1 bomber would depend in part on whether the Russians exercise restraint in arms. But in June the President's decision to shelve the B-1 was made without reference to the question of Soviet arms restraint. Similarly, the President's decision to deploy the cruise missile was made solely in terms of cost effectiveness and military effectiveness. No attempt was made to use decisions on the B-1 bomber and the cruise missile to bargain with the Russians.

In a July 1 press conference, Secretary of Defense Brown said, "The constraints we accept [in a SALT agreement] must not harm our strategic capability. . . ." But if we concede the same inviolability to the Soviet strategic force as Mr. Brown demands for the American, is there any inducement, or point, to SALT?

The deployment of the cruise missile will broaden and intensify the nuclear arms race with the Soviet Union and, because of the problem of verifying limitations on the cruise missile, its deployment could even undermine the basis for strategic arms agreements.

More than a speech by the President, like the one he gave on July 21, is needed to avert these consequences. Mr. Carter needs to reexamine his decision. The effort to stop the nuclear arms race and to mollify relations with Russia may depend on it.

Mr. Jaebough, currently a visiting scholar at the Brookings Institution, was a deputy assistant director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency.

Why Spain belongs in NATO

By Richard Mowrer

Spain should be invited to join NATO without delay. For these reasons:

1. Having achieved a remarkably smooth transition from dictatorship to democracy, Spain has a unique opportunity to join the Atlantic alliance. Past arguments that the Spaniards must be excluded because of their authoritarian regime, and because General Francisco Franco helped Hitler during World War II, no longer apply.

2. Under Franco the country became linked to the West's defense complex through military association with the United States; the air-forces agreement of 1953. But the American presence has never been popular and is likely to be less so in the future. Rightly or wrongly many Spaniards believe that the American connection propped up and prolonged Franco's harsh rule. The day may not be far off when the American military will be asked to leave. Indeed, they have been told to close down the nuclear submarine base at Rota by 1978.

3. For strategic reasons the Russians would like to see Spain go neutral. They can be expected to fan neutralist sentiment in the country at every opportunity. The Soviets' first move to neutralize Spain came last November when they proposed that neither NATO nor the Warsaw Pact alliance should be enlarged.

Spain has an army of 220,000 men, an adequate air force and a small navy, modernized to a considerable extent with United States aid. But Spain's importance to NATO is in its geographic location: shutting the Mediterranean and Atlantic approaches to the vital strategic Strait of Gibraltar.

It should not be assumed that Spain will jump at the chance to join NATO if asked. Opposition to the idea is not negligible. The country's second largest party, the Socialist Workers' Party which made a powerful showing in the recent national elections, is hostile to both NATO membership and the bilateral link with the United States. The Socialist's views will have to be taken into account by the center-right government of Adolfo Suarez.

Elsewhere it is argued that Spain has more to lose than to gain by joining NATO: it would cost \$500 million to bring the Spanish forces up to NATO standards whereas the bases deal with America under the current five-year extension provides \$1.2 billion in aid. So why not forget NATO and simply retain the American link?

What Spain does not now have, and would have if it joined NATO, is a blanket guarantee of immediate military assistance if attacked. Over the years Spanish negotiators have sought, and failed to get, this security guaran-

tee from the Americans. With NATO membership the gap would be closed.

Would this be enough to win over the Spaniards? Possibly not. But what might well tip the balance in favor of NATO would be the return to Spain of the Rock of Gibraltar. The two-and-a-quarter square mile territory was seized by the British in 1704 and held by them ever since despite Spanish efforts to get it back.

In the referendum in 1967 the Rock's inhabitants were asked if they would like Gibraltar to become part of Spain or remain British. The Gibraltarians voted 12,128 to 44 to stay British. Their argument then was that they would lose their democratic freedoms if Spain annexed Gibraltar. But today, with Franco gone and Spain embracing democracy, this thesis no longer holds.

The invitation to join NATO should come from the alliance's European member states which ostracized Spain in the Franco years, not from the United States.

The offer, accepted or not, at least would have the merit of giving the Spanish people the recognition and encouragement they deserve for a job well done with no help from anybody: the building of a new, democratic Spain.

Mr. Mowrer was formerly the Monitor's special correspondent in Madrid.

Readers write

The neutron bomb

The neutron bomb, proposed by our government, which destroys human life while preserving buildings, is the ultimate affront to a God which is Spirit and is expressed in the human lives of our potential enemies as well as to our lives. In our silent assault on this weapon, we blaspheme. What is worse, we fasten the heritage of this blasphemy on our children. In my heart, I renounce this weapon and all of its breed for myself and for my children. It is better that we should be killed in the body than be corrupted in the spirit.

Somerville, Mass. Hubert M. Nicholson

We invite readers' letters for this column. Of course we cannot answer every one, and some are condensed before publication, but thoughtful comments are welcome.

Letters should be addressed to: The Christian Science Monitor, International Edition, One Norway Street, Boston, MA 02115.

The most gladsome thing in the world is that few of us fall very low; the saddest that, with such capabilities, we seldom rise high.

—James Matthew Barrie